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THE  
DESPOTISM OF FREEDOM;  
OR THE  
TYRANNY AND CRUELTY  
OF  
AMERICAN REPUBLICAN SLAVE-MASTERS,  
SHOWN TO BE THE WORST IN THE WORLD;  
IN A  
S P E E C H,

DELIVERED AT THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 1833.

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BY DAVID L. CHILD,  
COUNSELLOR AT LAW.

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BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY THE BOSTON YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION,  
FOR THE DIFFUSION OF TRUTH.

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## PUBLISHERS' ADVERTISEMENT.

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THIS pamphlet is the first number of a series of publications, entitled the ABOLITIONIST'S LIBRARY. We shall continue the series as fast as our means will allow. We would respectfully invite the friends of universal freedom, to aid in this attempt to diffuse truth on this important and hitherto neglected subject. We shall aim to set the plain and simple TRUTH fairly before the public. In doing this, we shall take care to give no offence to any who are willing to have the mask torn off from this foul blot on our national character. If any error shall find its way into any of our publications, we call upon all men, whether friends or foes, to point it out, and it shall be corrected. While the people of the old world are going on so nobly in the work of reform, it becomes the republicans of America to awake from their slumber, and to inquire if they can do any thing in so noble a work. While our government professes to stand on the basis that "all men are born free and equal," we are excluding TWO MILLIONS of Americans, not only from the privileges of freemen, but from the rights of men. We shall never cease our opposition to this system, till this glaring absurdity and humiliating disgrace shall have passed away; and the natural rights of every inhabitant of this land shall be acknowledged and held sacred.

THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

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## PREFACE.

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IN this pamphlet, the reader will find the outline of a comparison betwixt American and other slavery. It is but an outline, and may, and doubtless will be, filled up at another time, or by another hand. If the question, whether American Slavery is or is not the worst in the known world, be not settled by the *laws* and the *facts* here adduced, it is necessary and proper that the inquiry should be prosecuted further, until this question shall be settled one way or the other. If the affirmative of the proposition be, as we fully believe, true, it cannot fail to arouse the attention and the sympathy of a great majority of the American people. If it be not true, then, for the honor of the republic, it ought to be shown to be false. To that result I would gladly have been conducted, if it had been possible, instead of the one which I have stated in the resolution, forming the subject of the speech.

I have met with many gentlemen, including planters, merchants, masters and owners of vessels, supercargoes and seamen, who have *seen* slavery in the Southern States and in the West Indies; and they all say that the treatment of slaves and of colored freemen in the United States, is far more cruel than they have seen elsewhere.

It is a standing argument with those, who differ from me, that the *increase* of slave population in the United States is greater than in the British West Indies, in some of which, in fact, there has been a regular decrease. There are several causes other than personal treatment, which account for this phenomenon.

1. The sugar planting is more destructive to life than cotton and rice. This business is comparatively new and limited in the United States, and has not, as yet, affected very sensibly the increase of slaves.

2. Emancipation has been less discountenanced by the West Indian communities, and it has *never* been obstructed by law ; but, so far as there has been any law upon the subject, always promoted.

3. The slaves in the greater part of the Southern States have, from the necessity of the seasons, something like a respite in winter, while in the West Indies they work equally hard all the year round.

4. I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Godwin, an able English lecturer, for the greatest principle which assists to solve the difficulty, and answer the argument above mentioned. Mr. Godwin says, that the *whites* can increase the *blacks*, but the *blacks* can *never* increase the *whites*! The whole *intermediate* class is thrown into the colored scale. Now, this intermediate class will be greater or less, according as the number of whites, who indulge in promiscuous intercourse, is greater or less. In the West Indies, the whites *on the plantations* are probably *one* to *fifty* blacks. In the *most* slave States of the United States, the whites are nearly *equal* to the blacks. In South Carolina, the excess of slaves over the free population, is 50,000. In Louisiana, also, the slave population predominates a trifle. In all the other States the free are the most numerous. Suppose, then, for illustration, that there are in a slave State, five white couples, five black, and five black *and* white. This last is a small estimate. But which class do the *whole* of their descendants go to increase?

## DESPOTISM OF FREEDOM.

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Mr. DAVID L. CHILD proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. ROBERT B. HALL:

*Resolved*, That the free People of Color and Slaves, in this land of Liberty and Law, have less liberty, and are less protected by law, than in any other part of the world.

### SPEECH.

Mr. Child commenced by saying that if the malignant cholera had "rewards" to bestow, it would have friends and admirers; but while the Saviour of men was despised, and persecuted, there was none so poor as to do him reverence;—none so low but that to have acknowledged his acquaintance, would have made them lower. Knowing from history and observation that these things were so, he had not come forward, on this occasion, at the invitation of the Anti-Slavery Society, without being fully aware how little favor, or rather how great invidiousness he was about to provoke, even from persons whose approbation he highly valued. But this was not the only adverse circumstance with which he who undertakes to plead the cause of the despised and persecuted Africans had to contend. He must not only forego that sweet breath of popularity, which rewards so many patriots for persuading the people that they are "the most enlightened and virtuous upon earth;" but he must also encounter positive personal danger. He saw in this assembly a man whose character was without reproach; whose life had been blameless from his youth up; a man who had committed no offence against the laws of this Commonwealth, who was not even accused of committing any; a man in the peaceable and industrious pursuit of a trade which was deemed so important to the well-being of the Commonwealth as to be the only one protected by name in our Constitu-

tion ;\*—and yet a price had been set upon that man's head ! A State of this Union, by a deliberate and formal act of legislation, had held out an enticement to every caitiff in the country, or within the reach of its presses, to commit a most heinous breach of the peace of this Commonwealth ; to insult HER *undoubted* constitutional sovereignty ; to trample on the supremacy of her laws, to shed the innocent blood of her sons ! Who could tell where and when this audacious infraction of the law of nations and of the Constitution of the United States† would stop, or whither it would go ? No man who should dare to say or to write and print that selling and holding human beings in bondage, scourging and killing them as the anger and caprice of a tyrant might dictate, were contrary to justice, humanity, to republican principles, and the laws of God, would in future be safe. Any citizen who should venture to express his honest convictions upon “ the greatest of all public questions”‡ might be *honored* by the State of Georgia with the repetition of her insolent and murderous act. Who next was to be let blood, none could tell. It might be our Governor ; and if it were, it would not be more atrocious, though certainly more manly, than what had already been done. It was handed down as a saying of the lawgiver and chief magistrate§ of an ancient Republic, that “ that was the best form of government where an injury done to the meanest citizen, was esteemed an injury to the whole state ;” and an eloquent and profound modern|| had declared of law, that “ her seat is the bosom of God ;” that “ all things on earth do her homage, the very *least*

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\* The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state ; it ought not therefore to be restrained in this Commonwealth.

*Constitution, Massachusetts Bill of Rights, Art. 16.*

† A person charged in any State with treason, felony or other crime, who shall *flee* from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State *from which he fled*, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime. *Constitution of the United States, Art. 4, Sec. 2.*

The above provision prescribes the only mode, and defines the only causes of seeking on the part of one state to obtain possession of the person of any freeman in another state. If Mr. Garrison has not been “ charged with treason, felony or other crime” in Georgia and “ fled” therefrom, then Georgia has no right by the compact to touch him in any manner. But it could never be forgotten in what *manner* she has proceeded although the *object* were constitutional and proper.

‡ Speech of Sir James Mackintosh at the meeting of the London Anti-Slavery Society, April 23, 1831.

§ Solon.

|| *Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Preface.*

as feeling her care, and the *greatest* as not exempted from her power." If the government and laws of Massachusetts were to be tried by these acknowledged tests, how mortifying must the result be? Perhaps it would have been well for the honor of the State, and the future safety of the citizens, if the legislature of Georgia had been pleased to select a more important victim. If it had happened to be His Excellency, instead of a humble printer; if it had been the strong and the armed instead of the weak and the unarmed, something might have been heard about it in the high places of power before the lapse of *a year and a half*! Something might then have been thought to be due to the violated peace and insulted dignity of Massachusetts! The Governor voluntarily repaired to Salem on the news of the murder there,\* and issued his proclamation offering, in the name and in behalf of the Commonwealth, \$1000, for the apprehension of the murderer. Can any one tell why it should be deemed so important to punish murder done, but of none at all to prevent murder intended?

He had said that the act of Georgia was a violation of the law of nations. There was in his mind no doubt upon this point. If she had no right to send her "guard" to seize, manacle and murder the citizens of Massachusetts, much less had she a right to move and instigate to it by an enormous public bribe, the army of kidnappers and villains who are spread over the face of this country, and for "a suitable reward" would cut a throat, or subvert a constitution! †

And what were the people doing while this apathy reigned among their rulers? A large portion were busy in stirring up the nation to avenge the abduction and murder of *William Morgan*, in which few comparatively could have been concerned, and in which it was to be hoped that very few were concerned; but the abduction and murder of *William Lloyd Garrison*, conspired by a whole State, and in momentary danger of being executed, obtained none of their sympathy or attention! Was a living citizen of less importance than a dead stranger? It was the doctrine of our law, that he who knowingly permits a crime to be committed is equally guilty with the contriver and perpetrator. If, then, we should permit our fellow-citizen, after more than a year's warning of the

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\* The murder of Joseph White, Esq., a wealthy citizen of Salem, Mass., by Richard Crowninshield and others.

† It is an established principle of the law of nations that an injury *threatened*, is as much a violation of the rights of a state, and a cause of war, as an injury *done*.—*Vattel*, p. 453.

designs upon him, to be kidnapped and murdered, as he assuredly would be, if once in the power of the "tyrants who batter at his peace," how great would be our guilt and infamy!

The hideous and afflicting fact announced in the resolution, which he had the honor to submit, was now to be proved. If he should succeed in making it manifest to all, let none blame him for publicly stating it, and invoking to it the attention of the country. If he failed, he would, for the honor of the Republic and of human nature, heartily rejoice.

The most obvious and universal of those peculiar hardships under which the colored race labor, in this country, (continued Mr. Child) is the inveterate, cruel, and, I will add, ferocious prejudice against their skins; or rather, to put the guilt where it belongs, the *reticle* of their skins, because it is well known that their *cuticle* is every bit as white as our own. No industry, no usefulness, no integrity, no intellectual attainments, nor moral rectitude, had ever yet been able, in the eyes of us republican judges, to atone for the enormous guilt of a reticle, "not colored as our own." The considerations of our common origin and end, even the sacred axioms and solemn monitions of God's own word, that he made of one blood all the nations of men, and will dissolve them all in one common dust, cannot shake that stubborn prejudice, which steels the bosoms of Americans to the oppressions and complaints of the poor negro.

This illiberal and unchristian prejudice does not exist in the same degree in any other country. In Spain and Portugal, and their colonies, and in Brazil, it scarcely exists at all. Brazil contains more negro slaves than any other nation; and if the prejudice were founded in reason and nature, it ought to be stronger there than elsewhere, because in every nook and corner of the empire, the African hue is associated with servitude and degradation; and yet colored men are eligible to, and do occupy the highest stations; they command armies, plead causes, heal the sick, and minister at the altar. Colored pastors are numerous, and their flocks embrace both white and black.

A few years ago, a colored military officer arrived in Boston from Brazil. Within ten days after his arrival, he was ordered from his lodgings, in Washington Street, and the society of six intelligent companions who came with him, and was obliged to take shelter in a mean apartment of a sailor boarding-house, because some aspiring young gentlemen of "the most enlightened of nations" declared that if "the nigger" remained, *they* would not. Yet "the nigger" was an exile by reason of

his *republican principles*, and of his efforts to establish a free government for his country. Subsequently the same "niggur" was one of the first and most generous in affording assistance to Major Hordynski, the noble Polander, to whom we are indebted for the History of the Polish Revolution. In the French colonies the prejudice exists, but is not violent; and it may be inferred from well known facts, that it never was strong in France. Mirabeau, Lafayette, and many other illustrious Frenchmen, are described as associating on terms of equality and friendship with intelligent and respectable negroes.\* Napoleon advanced a brave colored soldier through the subordinate grades to the rank of Major General, and named him "the Horatius Cocles of the Tyrols." A French gentleman, lately on his travels in the United States, was on board a steamboat, and he lighted his cigar by a negro's, accosting him politely for that purpose. The gentleman observed looks of surprise and aversion in the white passengers, and a shrinking movement at his approach. Upon inquiry, he learned that the igniting of his cigar by a *negro's*, had discomposed the whole company!

The cold regions of Russia afford a warmth of heart in this respect which may shame us. A favorite engineer and general of Peter the Great was a black. He arrived at eminent distinction, and was decorated with an order of knighthood. His son was the founder of the city of Cherson.† It is a familiar fact, that, in Turkey, color creates no obstacle in the way of merit.

In England, where the customs and habits most resemble our own, all distinction is quite done away. I have seen colored men at the chess-board, at the card-table, at feasts, at churches, at hotels, and arm-in-arm in the streets, with respectable white men of all ranks. Even in the W. I. Colonies, where cruel and wicked prejudice still survives, white men can sit by the side of black legislators, jurors, and members of the bar.

Was such a phenomenon ever seen in this Republic? If it had been, we should doubtless have heard of it. It would have made as much noise as nullification. Thousands of eyes would have been enlarged and hands held up in amazement, which would never have been relaxed except in a general

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\* See Clarkson's account of his visit to Paris, *History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade*, vol. 2, p. 105. ✓

† General Dumas. See Gregoire's *Inquiry into the Intellectual and Moral Faculties and Literature of Negroes*, p. 100.

and unextinguishable titter of laughter. How small and contemptible must we appear in the eyes of enlightened and impartial foreigners! How worse than contemptible in the sight of God! Can a colored person gain access to our hotels? Let the inhospitable treatment, which educated and gentlemanly strangers from Hayti have repeatedly received in our land, answer the question. Can they sit at our tables? We exclude them from the table of the Lord! \*

A lady has related to me an anecdote, since I came into this Hall, which strongly illustrates the state of feeling among us. The President of this Society delivered a discourse, a few weeks ago, in a Unitarian church of this city;—and I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the high-minded clergyman, who opened his pulpit on that occasion. Sometime afterwards, in making his parochial visits, he called upon a family, who presently began to apologize for their absence from meeting. And what do you suppose was the cause of it? They said that they approached their pew on the Sunday of the Anti-Slavery discourse, and, to their astonishment and horror, they found it occupied by—what do you guess?—a Tiger? No. Boa Constrictor? No. Something worse than either. Something whose presence pollutes more surely, than the jaws of wild monsters destroy—in short, they found it occupied by colored people, whom the sexton had conducted there! They said they could not bear the thought of sitting in it again; and had abandoned it, and bought another.

A recent instance of a less harmless and most disgraceful character, was stated in the *Liberator* of last week. A theological student was expelled for the crime of *color*, by a vote of his fellow-students, from the Wesleyan University of Middletown, Connecticut. How painful, how humiliating is the contrast between the conduct of these professed followers of Wesley, in this boasted land of light and liberty, and of their brethren in the land of monarchy and darkness—the abused and belittled Great Britain. *There*, Methodist ministers are daily encountering obloquy, stripes, conflagration and death, in order to teach the negro, and to pour consolation into his soul!† *Here*—alas, I cannot bear to finish the parallel. Be the face of my country veiled in this picture!

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\* We are happy to say that we have heard of several gratifying exceptions, but we believe the rule to be as stated in the text.

† See the account of the murder of the *Rev. Mr. Smith* by the planters, and of the destruction of the Chapels in the British Colonies. *London Anti-Slavery Reporter*, *passim*.

Some years ago, there was in Boston a colored man named Sanders—Prince Sanders. He was a man of very respectable attainments and of active benevolence. He wrote and published a good many books and essays, and took a peculiar interest in the affairs of Hayti, at a time when the destiny of that interesting country, was quite doubtful. To the honor of Bostonians be it said, this useful and worthy character was much and generally respected by them. He was even received on a hospitable and familiar footing at the houses of many of the most respectable of our citizens. Subsequently, Mr. Sanders visited England, and resided in London, where he was a marked man, greatly noticed and favored by the most eminent persons in church and state. If in Boston some little rills of regard had set towards him, in London it was a strong and swelling tide. While he remained there, the family of a wealthy Yankee took up their abode for a winter at the West End. Mr. Sanders was acquainted with them, and he called to see them on one morning at breakfast time,—a thing not unusual, I believe, in London. The lady entered cheerfully into a variety of chat, continuing, in the mean time, though not with quite her customary ease, to dispense the coffee. After the family had risen from the table, she said, as if by a sudden start of recollection, “Perhaps you have not breakfasted, Mr. Sanders? Wont you let me pour you out a cup of coffee?” Mr. Sanders was a keen observer. He had seen all that had passed—and a great deal that had not passed; and, with a natural feeling of triumph, but with perfect good temper, he answered, “I thank you, Madam; I am engaged to breakfast with the Prince Regent.” And so indeed he was.

We find therefore that the prejudice against color exists in no other country to the same extent as it does in our own; we find that in places where the causes (if cause can be predicated of it) are the strongest, it does not exist at all; we find it condemned by the Divine Law. Where then shall this prejudice, this miserable outlaw from the moral universe, find a refuge? Shall it take shelter under the law of Nature? Can it lie under any folding of the infant heart? Do your children refuse the tender cares of their nurses? Do their spirits, pure from the Maker, find that love and kindness have color? Do they not nestle in any bosom which these inhabit? Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven!

The sting of oppression acquires a new venom in an atmosphere of freedom. The condition of slaves in the United States of America, consists of two component parts, the labor

of Sisyphus and the torment of Tantalus. Other countries inflict the ceaseless and fruitless labor of the former, but we add thereto the perpetual exacerbation of the latter. The bitterness of slavery is aggravated by beholding above the sweet and golden fruits of the tree of liberty, which slaves can never touch, and which free colored men find turned to ashes in *their* mouths. There can be no doubt that this circumstance increases very materially the sufferings of colored men in this country, and the guilt of whites. Mrs. Trollop, whose book I admire for the truth and energy with which it states the crying sin of America, has an excellent passage upon the mortifying contrast which our professions and practice present. She says:

“It is impossible for any mind of common honesty not to be revolted by the contradictions in their principles and practice. They inveigh against the governments of Europe because, as they say, they favor the powerful, and oppress the weak. You may hear this declaimed upon in Congress, roared out in taverns, discussed in every drawing-room, satirized upon the stage, nay, even anathematized from the pulpit. Listen to it, and then look at them at home; you will see them with one hand hoisting the cap of liberty, and with the other flogging their slaves; you will see them one hour lecturing the mob on the indefeasible rights of man, and the next driving from their homes the children of the soil, whom they have bound themselves to protect by the most solemn treaties.”\*

I know an excellent and venerable gentleman who, when a youth, served in the ranks which fought for liberty. He afterwards resided a number of years in the city of Savannah. “On a 4th of July morning, while I was residing there,” he lately said to me, “I heard the sound of music, and the noise

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\* *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, page 257.

It is a lamentable and discouraging circumstance, that, for telling us “truths, by which a wise people might profit,” Mrs. Trollop is loaded with obloquy in every form. I am sorry that the ingenuity of our Johnston has been employed to blacken one of the best friends this country has ever had. Johnston has satirized extremely well the *breaking of the Indian Treaties*, and yet he shows no mercy to Mrs. Trollop! Her book, no doubt, has faults; but it has this redeeming quality—it exposes facts which the American people would never know, if an independent and impartial foreigner did not promulgate them. “Men love darkness because their deeds are evil.” Luther declared, towards the close of his life, that when he began the reformation, he thought that men required only to be enlightened. If he had known that they were aware of the abuses and corruptions of the Romish Church, and wished them, “ten wild horses could not have drawn him to his task.”

of a great crowd. I went forth to see what was the occasion ; and I found a large party bearing a liberty pole, with the cap of liberty to be set up in the great public square. I looked on and saw the work proceed ; and I soon observed that there was not an individual employed in setting up the pole, and crowning it with the cap, except *slaves*. ‘Is not that a pretty sight?’ said I to a friend—‘*slaves erecting a liberty pole!*’ ‘You had better take care how you say such things in this place,’ replied he, and with this additional specimen of a free country, I turned back to my dwelling, which I then resolved should continue such no longer.”

*Dr. Torrey*, of Philadelphia, a gentleman who appears to have been up and doing in relation to the subject of *free* bondage or *bond* liberty, while most men were sleeping, relates a case strongly illustrative of the same amazing discrepancy. *Dr. Torrey* says :

“One of the members of the House of Representatives (*Mr. Adgate*) related to me, while at Washington, the following fact : During the last session of Congress (1815—16) as several members were standing in the street, near the new Capitol, a drove of manacled colored people were passing by ; and when just opposite, one of them, elevating his manacles as high as he could, commenced singing the favorite national song—

‘Hail, Columbia, happy land!’” \*

The *Rev. John Rankin*, a Presbyterian clergyman of Ohio, has published a little volume for which every good man must feel grateful to him. It shows its author to be one of those who are aptly called the salt of the earth, because they preserve it from moral putrescence. He states, that, in 1824, two slave traders in Kentucky, named *Stone* and *Kinzingham*, had collected a drove, consisting of forty men and thirty women. The men were handcuffed and formed in ranks ; and a chain about forty feet long passed between the ranks, to which the handcuffs of each file were attached by small chains connected as branches with the large one. The women, yoked together in pairs, were formed in the rear. At their head were posted two musicians, and about the centre of the company was the *American flag*, borne by *chained hands*. In this order, the procession moved to the sound of merry music towards the slave market of New-Orleans. They were seen by the *Rev. James Dickey*, passing through the town of Paris, in

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\* *Torrey's Portraiture of Domestic Slavery in the United States*, pp. 39, 40.

Kentucky, and he poured out his grief and indignation on the occasion in an elequent and touching letter to a friend.\*

In the *District of Columbia*, where it is acknowledged on all hands Congress have the power to abolish slavery, and a vast and diabolical slave trade, the red ensign of the auctioneer of men, is stuck up under the flag which waves from the towers of the Capitol.

In these cases, sensible objects are brought into a close and striking contrast, which is peculiarly shocking to the sight; yet it is only a material form of that moral contrast which is seen by every intelligent and incorrupt mind in the nation. The external contrast is no other or greater than is exhibited to the mind's eye, every day throughout our country. It is exhibited, *but veiled*, in our very Constitution. It is the jarring of elements, which is described, as the principal characteristic of chaos. It cannot exist long in any system without bringing chaos back again. It will break up the foundations of the deep, and it ought to. I should have no faith in the justice of the Most High, if it would not. I see in the constant working of Providence to destroy unnatural and iniquitous combinations, the clearest proof of infinite wisdom and goodness.

The third and main point in this argument is the legal disabilities under which the colored race labor, and the utter absence of protection by law for the slaves.

A case occurred a few years ago in the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, of which the facts were these: A planter named Walker died, leaving by his last will certain real and personal estate to trustees, for the use and support of his negro slave Betsey and her three children, who were also bequeathed by him to the same trustees, with a direction to make them free. The questions for the court were, whether they could be made free in this manner, and whether the bequests and devises in their favor, (it being understood that the testator was the father of the children,) were valid and to be executed and paid. Both questions were decided in the negative. *Chancellor Desaussure*, in pronouncing the opinion of the Court, held the following language:

“The condition of the slaves in this country is analagous to that of the slaves of the ancients, the Greeks and Romans, and not that of the villeins of feudal times. They are generally not considered as persons, but as things. They can be

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\* *Rankin's Letters on Slavery*, pp. 80—4, and note, containing Rev. Mr. Dickey's Letter.

sold or transferred as goods or personal estate ; they are held to be *pro nullis pro mortuis*. Almost all our statute regulations follow the *principles of the civil law in relation to slaves, except in a few cases, wherein the manners of modern times, softened by the benign principles of Christianity, could not tolerate the severity of the Roman regulations*. They cannot be *tortured*, they cannot be *put to death*, with impunity.”\*

I shall not say whether the Chancellor of South Carolina was himself deceived, or intended to deceive others ; but this I will say, that either ignorance or wilful misrepresentation in the case can be proved. So far from its being true that American slaveholders have yielded to the gentle spirit of Christianity, and made the condition of the slaves more tolerable than in Greece and Rome, the *very reverse is the fact*. We have departed from the civil law regulations on the wrong side, and increased their severity. Other modern slave nations, with one exception, departed at an early period from the civil law on the opposite side, softening its severity. We, the great republic of the United States of America, are left by this divergency of policy the most cruel slave nation upon earth. We stand alone. The superior light which we boast shows more glaringly the unequalled horrors of our nefarious pre-eminence. It renders the darkness more visible.

Before I enter upon that minute comparison of the laws of different countries, upon which a just decision of the general question involved in the resolution depends, let us glance a moment at the respective origins of ancient and modern slavery.

Slavery in Greece and Rome was a humane institution. It constituted one of the most important improvements in the progress of civilization. In the early periods of the world, it was a law of war that all persons taken in the field of battle, or in the storming of cities, should be put to death : the history of the Jews, furnishes numerous examples.† The aborigines of this continent retain to this day the same national law, and almost universally put their prisoners of war to death. With the Greeks, Romans, and other contemporary nations, it was optional to kill, or save and sell into slavery. Thus we find Lysander putting to death three thousand Athenians after a great battle ;‡ and the Athenians at another time massacring the Spartans.

Thus we find the Carthagenians sparing Regulus at one time, and subsequently putting him to a horrible death. A

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\* *Plutarch*, 5, 228.

† *Desaussure's Equity Reports of South Carolina*, 4, 267.

‡ *II Samuel*, 8, 2 ; *ib.* 12, 31.

prisoner of war not put to death by his captor, was called *servatus*, (saved), and hence, by abbreviation, the word *servus*, or slave, from which we have the English word *servant*, bearing—thanks be to God—a very different meaning.

Few are they to whom life, though embittered with slavery, is not sweet. Few, “though full of pain,” would voluntarily part with it like Demosthenes, Hannibal and Cato.\*

If, then, men love life, ancient slavery was a blessing, so far as it preserved life. And it was never justified at that time, except on the ground that it was better to exist as a slave, than not to exist at all. The civil law lays it down as a first principle, that *slavery is contrary to natural right*,† and only to be justified by the laws of war, but for which ancient slavery would never have existed.

But modern slavery has no such excuse. Its victims are not the captives of open and allowed war; they are the prey of skulking kidnappers and pirates, enemies of the human race. They are seized in the midst of peace, *merely to make them slaves*, not to save their lives when ready to be sacrificed by the hand of war. Modern slavery is not the consequence, but the *cause* of war;‡ not an amelioration of its horrors, but the fruitful source of fresh wars, each with its attendant train of horrors.

The most common method of making captives to supply the slave ships, is for petty despots to make forays into neighboring territories, to surround villages in the dead of night, set fire to them, and seize upon the inhabitants as they issue from them, endeavoring to escape, naked and terrified from the flames.§ It even happens, for avarice “makes the meat it feeds upon,” that some of the kings of the Coast, if they cannot make war upon their neighbors, for the purpose of obtaining a supply of slaves for the Christian market, surround their own villages at midnight, and treat them in the same way as they are wont to treat foreigners and enemies. But though this is the general method by which slaves have been obtained in Africa for about four hundred years, it is not the only one. There are many others. I give you a few authentic examples.

\* It is a curious coincidence, that Cato, whose ancestor was so unrelenting in his enmity to Carthage, and, by his cruel policy, contributed so much to drive Hannibal to suicide, as well as to destroy that fair city, perished near its ruins, after surviving the fall of his own country.

† Dig. 1, 5, 1, *de stat. hom.*

‡ Harper's Family Library, No. XVI, p. 236,—*Discovery and Adventure in Africa.*

§ *Ib.*

A native trader, going home with goods, is seized and sold.

A negro is invited by a trader to see a ship, and then locked under the hatches.

A father and son are set upon as they are planting yams, and dragged to a slaver and sold.

A young woman, while bathing, is seized, and sold.

Three persons, crossing a river in a canoe, are taken and sold.

Three pupils, sons of chiefs in the interior, are sold by their tutor, a white man, who had opened a school on the Coast.\*

These are but few of the ways in which the hapless Africans are made slaves. No man has ever pretended to deny or doubt that the frequent wars, and perpetual distraction and desolation of Africa, are owing to the accursed aliment which Christian slave owners and slave traders furnish. It is therefore the peculiar guilt of modern slavery, that it *causes* and increases those evils and crimes of bad men, and those sufferings of innocent men, which ancient slavery was intended to prevent, or to mitigate.

We talk much about the ignorance and darkness of the heathen, and of their gross and sanguinary superstitions. How can we hold up our heads and talk thus? We must be either ignorant or past blushing; otherwise we could not do it, so long as this land is stained with slavery—slavery as much more cruel than Greek or Roman, in the manner of carrying it on, as it is more inexcusable in its origin. And what was the end of Roman slavery? Christianity abolished it. The owners of slaves were terrified at its inconsistency with the precepts of the religion which they professed; and they made solemn confessions of their crime, and formal surrenders of their pretended property in the persons of men, whom Christ had made free, and to every one of whom he bade his followers do, as they would be done unto! In various ancient instruments of emancipation, the masters begin by declaring that “for the love of God and Jesus Christ, for the ease of their consciences and the salvation of their souls,” they set their bondmen free. Yet, strange to tell, under the same Christian dispensation a new species of slavery, much worse than the which men with penitence and fear had abandoned, has started up, and now exists, *especially in a country boasting of LIBERTY, and “REFORMED” Christianity*—under aspects too sanguinary, too brutal and loathsome, to admit of description.

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\* *Manner of taking Slaves; Rees' Cyclopedia, Art. Slave Trade. Clarkson's History, vol. 2, p. 305—6.*

If the case which I have stated, from the reports of public judicial proceedings in the State of South Carolina, had been decided by the Roman Laws, Betsey and her children would have been free, and would have taken the property, which their master and father willed them. But under those laws, "softened by the benign principles of Christianity," this mother and her children were not only not permitted to take what was intended for them from the estate, but they were torn asunder and sold to the highest bidder for the purpose of adding to the estate! As a special indulgence, or rather, as I suppose, for the mutual benefit of buyer and seller, the youngest child, an infant, was permitted, by consent of the parties, to remain a while longer with the mother.

Thus we see in the very case in which the chief equity Judge of South Carolina puts forth this rash claim of his State, to peculiar credit for Christian benevolence and humanity, the facts refute him at every point. For, in the first place, slaves could be manumitted *by testament* under the civil law,\* whereas, in South Carolina, they cannot.† In the second place, slaves could, by the civil law, become the heirs of their masters; and, moreover, by being constituted heirs in his will, they became, by *that very act*, free,‡ without any provision for their emancipation. Nor is this all. A slave, by the civil law, could be manumitted by testament, and in various other ways, even though his master was *insolvent*, unless it appeared not only that he was insolvent *at the time* of the manumission, but also that he did it with *the intent* to defraud his creditors; because if he did it through ignorance of the precise situation of his affairs, or from any other cause, except a fraudulent intent towards his creditors, the slave was free.§ In the above case, the Chancellor alludes to a mortgage which there was upon these slaves, and upon the real estate devised to them, and says that they could not have been freed for that reason also, if the objection that such freeing was contrary to the laws of Carolina, were removed. The civil law always presumed in favor of the liberty of slaves; and inasmuch as it supported manumissions, even when they inflicted a total loss upon creditors, there can be no doubt in the case of a slave's being

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\* *Inst.* 1, 6, 1.

† It must be by an act of the Legislature, (*Stroud's Laws of Slavery*, pp. 146—7.) or by a deed executed in life and full health by the master, (*Des. Eq. Rep.* 267.) If *Stroud* be correct, this deed must be confirmed by an act of the Legislature.

‡ *Inst.* 1, 6, 2.

§ *Inst.* 1, 6, 3.

pawned, and his master's directing in his will that such slave should be manumitted, he would have been manumitted, and received the property willed to him, provided there were estate of the testator to pay the debts, for which he and such property were pledged. This would have resulted from the analogy of the civil law, which always "promoted the extinction of domestic servitude."\* The great discrepancy of the whole spirit of the civil law with that of the laws of South Carolina, is as well illustrated by this case, as the specific discrepancies which I have stated; and the general spirit and analogy of laws are more important in an argument of this kind, than one or a great many particular examples.

I have dwelt upon this case, not because it goes far to sustain my proposition—as it is too local and limited in its subject to contribute greatly to that end—but because I wished to show that the very case upon which this luckless speech and bootless boast was made, does no more concur with it than the course of Gilpin's horse with the resolutions of the rider. I shall reserve the farther proofs which I propose to present, to show how the rigors of the civil law have been *softened* by the *benign influence* of Christianity in *South Carolina*, for the general heads to which those proofs respectively belong.

This Republic is the only slave nation in the world in which the slave cannot acquire property, and purchase his freedom.

By the civil law, slaves could possess property. They saved something from the monthly allowance for their subsistence, which was liberal, being, according to Dr. Adam, four or five bushels of grain, and about thirty cents in money *per month*, besides a *daily* allowance: and they also could earn something for services, which they rendered over and above what was required of them. They frequently became wealthy by putting their gains out at interest, and by purchasing other slaves, whom they let for wages. Cicero, in whose time the Roman law was less favorable to slaves than the body of the civil law, as it has come down to us, declares that then any industrious and sober slave could work himself clear in *six years*. A good many important consequences resulted from the capacity of slaves to take and hold property. They could make contracts; they could maintain actions before the judicial tribunals; they could make a species of testament, and, as I have already shown, they could take by testament. But the most important consequence to them was that *they could purchase their freedom*, if they had sufficient money of *their own*.

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\* Gibbon, vol. 3, p. 134. Inst. 3, 12. Dig. 40, 1, 2, 2, 6. 4, 4. 5, 17.

to pay for it. This provision was finally extended, so that the money of a friend, or even the security of a friend to pay money, was deemed, in law, the slave's *own money*, and was equally efficacious to procure him his freedom.\* Charles V, whose humane code for the relief and protection of slaves has been justly said to do him more honor than his vast empire and his victories, established the best of the Roman laws for the Spanish colonies, as did likewise Louis XIV, and his predecessors, for the French colonies. I believe that it is universally true, that the humane provisions of the civil law were adopted from fifty to three hundred years ago by all the *continental* governments of Europe, who possess colonies and tolerate slavery in them, although, at this time, not one of them tolerates it *at home*;—and that the harsher features of the civil law have been either mitigated or entirely done away by the same governments.

This observation applies to the Spanish, French, Portuguese, Danish and Swedish colonies. In all of them, the slaves can have property, and can purchase their freedom, as they could in ancient Rome. In Cuba, according to our late countryman, the *Rev. Dr. Abbot*, the slave has a right to his freedom not only if he can offer his value at the time, but also if he can offer what his master actually gave for him.† In

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\* *Dig.* 40, 1, 4.

† “The free blacks in Cuba are considerably numerous: the number has been stated to exceed 100,000. It is a redeeming circumstance in regard to the Spanish character, that their laws favor emancipation, and the government faithfully executes them. If the slave can present his value, nay, only his *cost*, to his master, however reluctant he may be to part with the best body-servant he has, or an invaluable mechanic, or skilful driver, he cannot retain him. If he attempt to evade the demand, the captain of the Partido must enforce it, and evasion in either case is punished with high pecuniary penalties.

“Nor is it so difficult a thing for a smart and saving negro to accomplish the means. Food is furnished to them so abundantly by their masters, that the fruits of their own gardens may be converted into money. A certain method is to raise a hog, which they can do, to a large size, by corn of their own growing. I have seen swine belonging to slaves worth two or three ounces, (forty or fifty dollars,) and there are purchasers enough without their carrying them to market. Live hogs are at this moment sold here at eight dollars per hundred on the hoof. At any rate, negroes make money, and some save and bury it, and at an early period in life may buy their freedom. This very week, a splendid funeral was made for a black woman who paid for her freedom, and has left behind her \$100,000, collected by her industry, and also an amiable and respectable character. From my chamber window I look down upon a family of freed blacks, who are my laundresses. They sell admirable spruce beer, and I know not what else; and the daughter amuses herself, and the family, and the neighborhood,

the British slave colonies, which most resemble our Southern States, there have been great ameliorations in this respect, but in some greater than others. In the *Crown* colonies, which are under the direct legislation of the king in council, the recent improvements appear to surpass, in some respects, those in the colonies of the continental nations.\* In the *chartered* British colonies, under the influence of the public opinion of England, and of much patient coercion by the British government, ameliorations have been measurably introduced. In all of them the slave may have property, and may purchase his freedom, the price being fixed by the magistrate, or by appraisers appointed by him, or mutually chosen by the slave and his master.

Let us now turn our eyes inward, if we can, and look at our own country. You will expect me to tell in what modes slaves can purchase their freedom of the free, and under what peculiar regulations it may be done in different States. At least you will expect to be informed in what particular States, (if there be any so degenerate and inconsistent,) it can *not* be done. The task is soon accomplished. *There is not one in which it can be done!* There is not one in which the slaves can legally have a farthing of property of any sort or kind! Our Republic is a complete Pandora's box to the slave, except that *there is no hope at the bottom*. In this circumstance, it is most clearly, most infamously, worse than the worst! But this is not all. The *republican* slave, the slave chained by the hands of *democracy* and political *equality*, can not only discern no ray of hope from any thing in his own power to do, but he can seldom have any from the good disposition of the most pious and *penitent* master.† The slave States have prohibited

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by singing with a sweet and powerful voice of great compass, and accompanies her singing by the guitar. All this I rejoice to see and hear, and delight to record in honor of the Spanish government. And I would hide my face for shame, that in some of our republican States, a statute forbids manumission, even when the owner is disposed to grant, or the slave is prepared to purchase the blessing."—*Abbot's Letters, written in the interior of Cuba, in 1828, p. 97.*

\* London *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, for January, 1832.

† Dr. Torrey mentions several instances of southerners becoming dissatisfied with themselves for holding their fellow-men in bondage, but not being permitted to emancipate by the laws of the States in which they resided, had applied to societies or governments of other States for assistance to remove their slaves, or for an asylum for them, but generally without success.

It gives me pleasure to mention here with honor due the noble example of *Mr. David Minge*, a gentleman of Charles City County, Virginia, who, emancipated, and, at his own cost, removed, and *established* as farm-

masters from emancipating, or have imposed such a *tariff* upon humanity, as amounts to a *prohibition*. The consent of the *creditors* of the master must first be had, or the emancipated slave will be subject to be seized at any time for debts. North Carolina is said to be an exception, but it is the only one, and in that State, emancipation can be made only for the single cause of *meritorious services*.<sup>\*</sup> The Louisiana code is the most favorable to the liberty of the slave, because it was a Spanish and French colony, and has based its legislation upon the civil law ; but, even there, as if some malignant demon presided over all that is done or attempted in this country, they have departed from their model on the wrong side ; they have thrown away the best, and kept the “ worser part.” The slave cannot be emancipated in *fraud of creditors*, and this fraud is proved not by any actual fraudulent *intent* of the emancipator, as was required by the civil law, but by his not having sufficient to pay his debts, “ at the moment of executing the enfranchisement.” In *South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi*, an act of the legislature can alone emancipate a slave. In Virginia, a master may emancipate a slave, on condition of sending him out of the State within twelve months. In Maryland, the law used to be the same, without this restriction, but I believe it has lately been added. In Kentucky, the master is required to give a bond with surety to support the emancipated slave, if he should ever become a pauper. Missouri, it is believed, has regulations analagous to those of Virginia, and Tennessee to those of North Carolina, except that *creditors* are allowed to hold on upon the emancipated slave.

In all these States, if the emancipation be made in any manner different from that prescribed by law, the emancipated person is taken up and sold into slavery again, and the proceeds, after rewarding the person who informs against or arrests him, are appropriated to public uses. But Georgia, being a rather fiercer *democracy* than common, has imposed a fine of *two hundred* dollars upon the emancipator over and above the con-

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ers in Hayti, his slaves, sixty in number, about five or six years ago. The property sacrificed by him in doing this, was \$31,800. Mr. Niles, in noticing this transaction in his Register at the time, states, “ That Mr. Minge was a gentleman of about 25 years of age, and that he released his slaves for the quiet of his mind, retaining but two and those emancipated.”

<sup>\*</sup> This means some action which would be called brilliant and heroic, if done by a white, such as saving a master's life at the risk of the slave's.

fiscation and sale of the slave. By a more recent act, the same State has imposed a penalty of *one thousand dollars* upon any person who shall emancipate or enter into any agreement to emancipate a slave, or shall allow him to earn any money for himself; and by the same law such agreement is declared null and void. The same severity is not exercised in all the slave States upon the *master* who permits his slave to acquire and lay up something for himself; but there is not one in which the slave is allowed by law to do so, or is protected in the possession of one cent of property.\* In Virginia, I am informed, by a respectable colored man, who lived and suffered there for thirty-two years, that, if a slave make a bargain, at the peril of the public whipping—which the law carefully provides independently of that which the master may himself inflict—or if he by any other means gain a little money, he must hide it; and, if detected, he is not only deprived of it, but whipped with any degree of severity which may suit the master's habits and temper, or his particular resentment against the unfortunate individual.

I state a case to show how entirely the slave is at the mercy of the master, even though the master himself have contracted and promised to give him his liberty. This case occurred in Virginia a few years ago, but it might have occurred in any of the slave States.

A master had repeatedly promised to manumit a slave who was an excellent blacksmith, but he had as often violated his promise. The slave had worked earlier, later and harder, upon the expectation of becoming so much the sooner a *man*. At length, however, his heart grew sick. Disappointment, sharper than a serpent's tooth, relaxed the sinews of his arm, and poisoned his coarse and scanty fare. The master, to revive his spirits and restore his vigor, finally promised with unwonted solemnity, that if he would earn by extra labor a certain sum of money, amounting to several hundred dollars, he should be free. The slave fell to work once more with redoubled energy. He toiled long and hard, and at last the blessed day dawned, on which, according to the stipulation of his master, he was to be enfranchised. But that treacherous and brutal individual had sold him to a slave trader, to be carried to New-Orleans! and on that day he was destined to receive—not his promised freedom, but a new suit of chains.

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\*My authority on the subject of the southern *slave laws*, is Mr. Stroud's work already quoted. It was published in Philadelphia, in 1827.

The heart-stricken man told his tale to the trader ; how he had been promised, how he had toiled, what cherished and often deferred hopes would be blasted forever. He entreated him in the most touching language, to renounce the sacrilegious bargain. But "there is no flesh in the heart" of a slave trader. Seeing that his prayers and tears were vain, the slave became desperate. He told the dealer that if he did take him, one or the other of them must die ; and that he then gave him fair warning. The trader was highly diverted, and said "he liked such a spirited fellow." They went on board a vessel, and, during a serene evening in that delicious climate, the trader reposed himself upon the deck. In the dead of the night, the slave contrived to rid himself of his hand-cuffs, and groped until he grasped a heavy handspike, and, thus armed, stood over the sleeping man. He waked him and told his purpose. "Then God have mercy on me," said the slave trader. "God will not have mercy on you, neither will I," said the slave, and dashed out his brains.—[*Applause.*]

Private whipping, imprisoning, chaining, starving, and otherwise torturing *at will*, constitute another appalling and peculiar feature of slavery in these United States. I shall present a number of well-authenticated facts, which fully bear out this assertion. I wish nothing that I may say on this or any part of the subject, to be taken upon trust. I will prove every thing by law, or by the *absence* of law, and by actual occurrences ; and if there be one, who will listen candidly, and will then deny that I make out clearly that the slaves of the United States are in the hands of their masters, as Job was in those of "the enemy of mankind," with the exception *that here there is no condition to spare life*, then I will never open my mouth again upon "the delicate subject." *Delicate* indeed ! If the hundredth part of that which is known respecting it were to be stated, it would drive every *maid* and *matron* from this hall.

Mr. Clarkson, the venerable APOSTLE of ABOLITION, moved all England by facts. By facts, he made enthusiasts of frigid statesmen ; and the thunders of indignation, which broke from Wilberforce, Fox and Pitt, shook the prepared shackles from the fingers of British man-thieves. Perhaps the abolitionists of the United States have neglected too much to lay before the community the facts which they know, or could readily collect, in relation to the actual state of slavery in this country. Perhaps we are still influenced, though unconsciously, by that artful and slavish delusion as to the obligations of the compact, which for fifty years has stifled our voice like

the nightmare. "We have nothing to do with the subject of slavery." (Would to God we *could* wash our hands of the guilt!) "We have no right to touch it." Such is the servile cant of "dough-faces," and "white slaves," as they have been ungratefully, though very justly denominated by one of their southern masters. I am sorry to say, that a great many worthy people, not knowing the interested motives of those who raise this cry, chime in and swell the grand chorus, "no right to touch it," "no right to touch it."

It does seem sometimes as if eyes were made to see darkness. This very assertion, of "no right to touch it," *does* touch it. For we have a right to dispute that point. We are not obliged by any custom of our country, nor by any law in *Massachusetts*, to receive the dogma without examination. No doubt it has been authoritatively pronounced and extensively believed; but, after all, it is not a revelation from Heaven, (I am more apt to think it a suggestion from the other place); nor is it a decision which binds our will. It is but a simple declaration whereon we take issue, and claim to give evidence under this issue, of all the crimes of slavery. The question is one respecting *moral* right, for none pretend that we are legally restrained; and this question depends on others, viz., what are the rights and what are the condition and treatment of the free colored people and slaves in these States?

Again, fellow-citizens; suppose "we the people" should choose to agitate the question of *amending* the federal constitution with a view to extirpate from it this pestilent principle, would it not be right and necessary to discuss the subject in newspapers and in popular meetings. I undertake to say that, in the present state of this country, or in any proper state of a republic, no amendment of the constitution, nor great improvement of any kind, can be effected, except it be so discussed. To say that we have no right to discuss the subject of slavery, is to say, in effect, that that article of the federal constitution which provides for amending the same constitution, is inapplicable to that provision of it which lends a sanction to what all *acknowledge* to be grossly unjust. I give this froth to the winds. I am ashamed of having ever been blinded by it, and of having now to contend against it.

The ancient Greeks and Romans\* did provide protection for slaves against the cruelty of masters. Slaves, if

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\* "They were allowed to fly for sanctuary to Theseus's temple, whence to force them was an act of sacrilege. And those that had

if whipped without cause, or to excess for good cause, or otherwise abused, could take refuge in the temples and at the feet of certain statues, where it was sacrilege to molest them. When a slave resorted to this remedy, his case was inquired into by the magistrates, and if the decision was in his favor, the master forfeited the right to retain him. An analogous regulation exists in the Spanish colonies.\* In Brazil, at present the most populous slave nation, it is still better. There the master is obliged, under a severe penalty, to give his slave a written license to seek another master whenever the slave demands it; a person willing to purchase being found, the magistrate fixes the price.† Besides this general law, there are specific limitations of the number of stripes in each of those countries. By the *Code Noir*, the slave in the French colonies had his action against the master for cruel whipping.

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been barbarously treated by their masters, had the privilege of commencing a suit against them, which they called *Ubreus diken*, *Aikeas diken*, the former of which was against such as had made any violent attempts upon the chastity of their slaves; the latter against those who had used too much severity in punishing them; and if it appeared that the complaint was reasonable and just, the master was obliged to sell his slave."—*Potter's Antiq. Gr.* vol. 1, p. 76.

"It is not allowed to any man in our empire, without a cause known to the laws, to rage against his slaves. For by the constitution of the divine Antoninus, he who killed his own slave, without a cause, was ordained to be punished the same as if he had killed the slave of another person. And the too great severity of masters was restrained by a constitution of the same prince; for being consulted by some of the governors of the provinces respecting certain slaves, who fled to the sacred edifice, and to the statue of the Emperor, he ordained that if the cruelty of the masters appeared to be intolerable, they should be compelled to sell their slaves upon fair terms, and receive the price thereof: and therein he decided righteously, because it is profitable to the Republic, that every one should use well and not ill that which is his own,—which rescript is in the words following, to wit: "The power of masters over their slaves ought to be unlimited, nor ought they to be deprived thereof: but it is the interest of the masters that protection against cruelty, starvation and intolerable injuries, should not be refused to the slaves who justly complain. Therefore, take cognizance of the complaint of Julius Sabinus's slaves, who have taken refuge at the statue; and, if you find that they have been held harder than is just, or have been persecuted with infamous injuries, order it so that they never again be placed in the power of their master; and if any one defrauds this constitution of its effect, be it known to him that I will punish the same (when it shall appear) very severely."—*Inst.* 1, 8, 2.

\* *Abbott's Letters.*

† Verbal information from *Major Frias e Vasconcellos* and *S. Marques de Sousa*, Brazilian travellers in the United States.

Imprisonment and chains were totally prohibited, and no punishment except with the *rod* was allowed.\*

The British order in council of 1831, restrains private whipping to fifteen stripes. Even this cannot be inflicted without the presence of witnesses, nor without a record thereof being made by the master or manager, or by another person, if the master or manager cannot write.† No slave can be punished twice, nor with two different kinds of punishment for the same offence; nor twice on the same day for different offences, nor until six hours after committing any offence. By the same order, no master can inflict corporal punishment upon a *female* in any case. And if a master inflict or authorize any illegal or cruel punishment, or any other cruelty, the court, beside fine and imprisonment, may declare his interest in the slave forfeited; and if the master offend a second time, the court may remove him from the management of all his slaves, and render him incapable forever after of managing or controlling any slave.‡

In this country there is no law limiting the arbitrary punishment of a slave; it is left to the discretion of the master; or, to speak more truly, it is left to his caprice, his wantonness, his anger, occasionally to his intoxication, and very often to his revenge. How the absence of legal protection is supplied by the kindness of republican slave masters, let facts determine.§

\* *Code Noir, Enc. Jur, Art. Esclavage*, p. 333.

† It does seem, then, that there are masters of slaves who cannot write. It would be to the honor of many of them, if they could neither write nor read.

A southern planter, who originated in the north, was dining with a party of neighboring slaveholders. The wine circulated briskly, and conversation became as sincere as at the suppers of Astyages. It happened, as is quite usual, that the mean character of the northerners was the subject of discussion. The emigrant had spirit enough to repel the charges against his countrymen, and he said that whatever else might be said of them, they could *read* and *write*. Before the party separated, the host came to this man, and told him that he must take a bed at his house that night, for, said he, you have mortally offended a gentleman of the party, who will meet you on your way home, and compel you to fight him. "What for?" said the guest. "Oh, nothing at all, only he thinks that you meant to insult *him*, when you spoke of reading and writing." Upon this information, the offender took occasion to make satisfactory explanation, and the affair passed off without a duel or an assassination.

‡ *London Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 5, No 1.

§ I am aware that *all* the slave States do not say expressly, that a master may *whip a slave to death*; but I do say, that in *no State* is the *degree* or the kind of punishment restricted by law. There is no limi-

A gentleman in this city saw a harness-maker in Charleston seize a leather tug or trace, containing a heavy iron eye in the end, and, with this instrument, held with both hands, draw several strokes over the body and head of a slave. The master was totally regardless whether the iron lit upon the head, or the eye, or the mouth of the slave. He cried out piteously that his master *would* kill him. The sight was too painful for an unaccustomed spectator, and the gentleman withdrew. This slave had been sent from the country by the sister of the person who so punished him, to be taught domestic service; and his offence was some slight awkwardness or trifling blunder in his new employment.\*

A clergyman of Kentucky declared that he had seen a master whip repeatedly a *female* slave who was upwards of eighty years old, and who had been this master's "mammy," that is, had nursed him at her breast, in his infancy.†

A gentleman who has been in North Carolina, has seen a *female* slave, who complained of illness, and refused to work, struck with the *blade* of a *paddle*, twelve or fifteen blows. Two hours after this treatment she was confined. The same gentleman saw a free negro tied to a tree, and a negress slave, who was attached to him, ordered to whip him. She refused, saying she loved him too well. The white men then tied her up and gave her "five." This overcame her resolution, and she consented to whip the man.‡

In derision, this tree was called "the Lafayette tree." The secret of this affair was, that the negress had been the mistress of one of these whites. Yet we are told that whites are elevated too much above negroes to feel resentment or revenge towards them. §

tation any where except the general laws against murder, and these are *never* enforced for the killing of a slave.

Strangers are more likely to take notice of this horrid anomaly than we are. Young Murat, a strong advocate of slavery, and when here an owner, states the proposition without qualification as respects the *law*. The following are his words:

"Il n'esiste a' la verite aucune loi qui protege l'esclave contre le mauvais traitement du maitre."

The sense is:

In truth, no law exists which protects the slave against bad treatment from his master.

See also, on this subject, *Stroud's Slave Laws*, p. 35, and *Rankin's Letters on Slavery*.

\* Mr. Preston Shepard, of Boston.

† MS. of Mr. Garrison.

‡ Mr. Francis Standin, of Boston, § Murat.

The Duke of Saxe Weimar states that a female slave was whipped at New Orleans by her mistress, that her lover was compelled to stand by and count off the lashes, and that she was afterwards publicly whipped by the magistrate. Her offence was, that, being engaged in some other duty, she had not started quite as quick to bring water to a lodger as he thought she should do. He struck her a blow in the face which made the blood run, and she, in sudden heat and resentment, seized him by the throat.\*

The Rev. Mr. Rankin details the case of a female slave in Kentucky, the mildest and freest of the slave States. Her master had purchased an article of furniture, which his wife, in the presence of a neighboring gentleman, had the misfortune to break. She laid this accident to the slave girl, when her husband made inquiry respecting it. He suspended the girl from the limb of a tree in a *manner* not to be described, and commenced the usual operation of whipping. Extreme torture drew from her a confession, but when the pain was eased, the poor girl returned to her first and honest denial, whereupon the whipping recommenced. Fortunately, the identical gentleman who was a witness of the accident, happened to be passing. He declared the truth, and rescued the girl.†

Mr. William Ladd, known as a friend of colonization, and an opponent of this Society, and not likely, therefore, to exaggerate, but rather to soften the harsh features of the system, alludes publicly to the following, among other horrors which he has witnessed: A gentleman of his acquaintance, was offended with a female slave. He seized her by the arm, and thrust her hand into the fire, and there he held it until it was burnt off. "I saw," said Mr. Ladd, "the withered stump."‡

Mr. Sutcliff, an English Quaker, who travelled in this country, relates a case very like that of the Kentucky girl, only that the catastrophe was more shocking. A slave owner, near Lewistown, in the State of Delaware, lost a piece of leather. He charged a little slave boy with stealing it. The boy denied. The master tied the boy's feet, and suspended him from the limb of a tree, attaching a heavy weight to his ancles, as is usual in such cases, to prevent such kicking and writhing as would break the blows. He then whipped; the boy

\* *Saxe Weimar's Travels.*

† *Rankin's Letters*, p. 103.

‡ *Mr. William Ladd's Address* at the meeting of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, Jan. 1833.

confessed; and then he commenced whipping anew for the offence itself. He was a kind master, and never whipped the lad again, for *he died under the lash!* Then the slaveholder's own son, smitten with remorse, acknowledged that *he took the leather.\**

An honorable friend, who stands high in the state and in the nation, was present at the burial of a female slave in Mississippi, who had been whipped to death at the post by her master, because she was gone longer of an errand to the neighboring town, than her master thought necessary. Under the lash she protested that she was ill, and was obliged to rest in the fields. To complete the climax of horror, she was delivered of a dead infant before her master had completed his work!†

I am convinced that these statements are true, and that a volume might be *annually* filled with similar ones, and would be, if we felt what we ought, for the "tortured slave."‡ I am also convinced that they will be treated as if they were all false, by a large portion of this and every community in the Republic. What facts of this kind, stated by foreign travellers, (who did not feel *their* tongues tied by "the compact,") have not been scouted by respectable and popular periodicals in this country, as Munchausen tales! Be it so. I will not dispute the point. I give facts as I find them in books, or have heard them from credible persons. I believe them. Let others dispose of them as they can.

I proceed to further facts, resting on authority which the most supple flatterers of despots will not venture to gainsay, because they cannot do it without charging falsehood and forgery upon those whom it is their purpose to flatter and to lull into profound indifference.

In the *Southern Judicial Reports*, there are cases in which owners have prosecuted to recover the pecuniary value of slaves murdered. This class of cases is numerous in those Reports. But in the nature of things, the cases in which

\* *Sutcliff's Travels in North America*, p. 177. See *Boston Calumet of Peace*, vol. 1, No. 12.

† The narrator of this fact is now absent from the United States and I do not feel at liberty to mention his name.

‡ I have always admired Mrs. Morton's elegy on "the African Chief," slain at St. Domingo, in 1791. The following stanza inspires a melancholy thoughtfulness:

"Let sorrow bathe each blushing cheek,  
Bend piteous o'er the tortured slave,  
Whose wrongs compassion cannot speak,  
Whose only refuge is the grave."

the masters and their drivers have whipped to death or otherwise killed their slaves, must be much more numerous. But of these, the Southern Reports show not a trace, because the master could not prosecute *himself* for the value of the slave he had killed, and would not be likely, except in a very extraordinary case, to prosecute *his* agent. And if he charged him with the value, he would take it out of his wages, or in some other manner settle it without a suit. Those Reports afford not the slightest indication that *condign* punishment was ever, in any instance, inflicted upon the white murderer of a slave. Thus we see that avarice asserts her claim, and is listened to at the tribunals, while justice is buried with the dead.

One Harris let a slave to one Nichols, to labor for a term. Nichols underlet the same slave to one Patterson. The overseer of Patterson, Thilman by name, "so unlawfully, cruelly and excessively whipped the said slave Joe, alias Roger, that by reason of such unlawful, cruel and excessive whipping, the said slave afterwards died." You would naturally suppose that this is an extract from an indictment against Thilman for murder. Not at all. It is from the writ which Harris brought against *Nichols*, to recover civil damages. Wirt, Wickham, and Chapman Johnson, were counsel in the case. The claim was not sustained by the court. *Judge Spencer Roane*, one of Virginia's favorite great men, delivered the opinion of all the judges of the Court of Appeals, that "the act of Thilman was not authorized by the defendant, and was not committed in the usual and proper course of his duty, but was a wilful and unauthorized trespass."\*

If the whipping *to death* had been in the course of *duty*, or if, in the language of North Carolina and Georgia, "he had died of moderate correction," then this murder would not have been even so much as "a trespass." In fact, the Virginia *express* law was, until a late period, precisely the same as that of North Carolina and Georgia,† and the examination of the Reports of that State will convince any one that the *practice* continues the same to this day. Indeed, that State seems to have been sensible of the inconvenience and danger of opening a *pit*, into which many valuable members of the planting nobility (who are "the State"), might possibly fall, when they repealed *their-killing-by-moderate-correction* act. They almost simultaneously passed an act, which sup-

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\* *Munford's Virginia Reports*, vol. 5, p. 484.

† *Virginia Revised Code*, vol. 2, Ap. p. 103.

plies the place of that repealed. The difference between them is, that the existing law throws that scandalous part of judicial duty which consists in clearing the guilty, into the hands of *obscure* tribunals. The law is, that an acquittal before a justice of the peace, to whom complaint shall be made, and four assistant justices, whom the first mentioned shall summon to attend the examination, shall be final and *a bar* to any other or future prosecution; *and that no person shall be tried in any other court, unless he or she shall have been examined as aforesaid by a court of five justices.*

It seems as if the Virginians intended by this act to make assurance doubly sure, for with a *jury* of *slaveholders*, with *judge* slaveholders, and prosecuting and *prisoner's* counsel slaveholders, no master could ever be in imminent danger for killing a *chattel*. To show how this may be, and at the same time to exhibit a specimen of the manner in which laws, so called, for the protection of slaves, are executed by that oligarchy, any one of whom, is quite likely, the next week after condemning his neighbor, to become a criminal himself,—I will state a case from Judges Brockenborough and Holmes' Virginia Cases:

One *Thomas Sorrell* was examined before the Examining Court of the County of Westmoreland, for the murder of a slave, the property of Ebenezer Moore. The court found him guilty of *manslaughter*, and sent him for trial to the superior court. Here, in the General Court, he was indicted for *murder*. The question arose whether the grand jury could indict for a higher crime than the magistrates had sent the criminal up for? This was decided by all the judges in the affirmative, and it was also agreed by all, that if the prisoner had been acquitted by the examining magistrates, *that* would have been a good bar to this indictment. Here, then, was one criminal, who, by a misunderstanding of the law on the part of the justices, had slipped out of their friendly hands, and had been casually grappled in the dark by the hands of another tribunal, which was more conspicuous, and felt more responsibility to the country. I cannot have a doubt that the magistrates would have fully acquitted Sorrell, if they had thought it possible for him to be indicted in the superior court, for *murder*. At the same time, their binding him over at all is good evidence that they thought him very criminal, and that they could not acquit their consciences if they fully acquitted him.

This murderer, then, this "shedder of man's blood," this defacer of the image of his God, was put on trial, and "*ac-*

*quitted directly contrary to evidence,"* says Mr. Tucker, one of the most upright and respectable men of Virginia.\*

I state another Virginia case, not from the Judicial Reports, but from the report of a respectable colored man, who was a Virginian. I state it in his own language, as I took it down. It will show what recent improvements have been made in the Virginia laws, and the treatment of that portion of the population, which it should be the pride of "chivalry" to protect, because they are the weak and oppressed, and unable to protect themselves.

*Doctor*, a slave, very old, forty or fifty years, was reaping, and couldn't keep up his row. Overseer whipped him very bad. But he didn't keep up his row then; and overseer went to whip him again; and, after giving him a few lashes, he fell. Overseer went to master and told him that the d——d old s—— b—— had laid down and would not work. The master went to him, and, repeating those words, kicked him, and bade him get up. *But he was dead*; and where his master kicked him, the skin peeled off, as it was cut with whipping and exposed to the sun. We carried him to the graveyard, and dug a hole and put him in."

These are the words that I heard, except that I omit names. I asked my informant if he called a man old at "forty-five or fifty?" "Oh," said he, "he was broke down—worked to death." "But was no inquiry made as to the cause of his death?" "No, master did nothing to overseer; he did not dismiss him, or blame him." "Do you think the slaves are treated as bad now as they were when this happened?" "Worse—been growing worse ever since. They shoot them like dogs now. It is worse than ever." "But what do you mean by grave yard? Was it the church yard?" "No, sir. Slaves are buried in a yard on each plantation." "Is there no funeral when a slave dies?" "Sometimes, but not often."†

This case leads me to remark the important fact that coroner's inquests, required by the common law, do not appear to be in fashion at the south, if the deceased be a slave. The British government, in carrying on their noble plans, deemed it of the first necessity to provide for a strict execution of the

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\* *Virginia Cases*, p. 258.

† "We find the Athenian Lawgiver commanding the magistrates, called demarchi, under a severe penalty, to solemnize the funerals not so much of citizens, whose friends seldom failed of paying the last honors, as slaves, who frequently were destitute of decent burial."—*Potter's Antiq.* vol. 1, p. 168."

law for inquests on dead bodies of slaves.\* The inference which I draw from this omission is, that the authorities think that it would create unnecessary trouble and danger to institute proceedings which they are all firmly resolved shall never come to any thing.

My next case is from the Judicial Reports of South Carolina.

A slave named *Isaac*, belonging to one William Gray, was whipped to death by one *Guy Raines*. Raines was indicted for murder, and also for killing on sudden heat and passion. On the trial, Raines was permitted to introduce evidence of *his own declarations* as to the homicide and the circumstances of it. Those declarations were, that the negro was a very bad negro; that he had been a runaway, and been shot and had the shot in him; that Raines was taking him to jail by *order of Gray*, his master; that on the way the negro turned sullen and would not go, and Raines gave him *five hundred lashes*; that, when he [Raines] found that whipping would not make him go, he tied his feet and left him in order to go and get assistance; that, at the first house he came to, he requested two women to go to the slave and see that nobody cut him loose, until Raines could go to one Young's and get further assistance.

On the part of the prosecution, it was proved that the negro died in about *eight minutes* after the two women reached him; that he *bled at the nose, mouth and ears*; that he had been severely whipped below the small of the back; that the blood appeared there; that several small switches and two or three large ones lay near, which appeared to have been much worn; and a *stick* with a small end and a *larger end*, *seemed* to have been used.

The further testimony on the part of the prisoner consisted of representations of the general bad character of the deceased, and of several *particular* offences with which the witnesses charged him. They also testified that Gray, his master, had whipped him six or seven weeks before his death, *a thousand lashes*; that Isaac shortly after ran away! and having been caught, he was committed to Raines by Gray, to be taken to Columbia jail. In addition to this, it was testified by other witnesses, (why not by Raines himself?) that said Raines was a "humane man," and "of a good character," and that *Isaac* was a very *stout* fellow. The court refused to

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\* *London Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 5, No. 1.

allow Raines "the exculpatory oath."\* The judge charged the jury that Raines was not guilty of *murder*, but that he had given the negro *undue correction*, and was guilty of "*killing on sudden heat and passion*." The jury brought in *manslaughter*. The whole Supreme Court afterwards decided upon argument that the exculpatory oath ought to have been admitted, and on this as well as other grounds, *Raines* was *entirely* cleared.

This case occurred in 1826. There is a vast deal in it to reflect upon. Note the admission by the court of the *interested* statements of the prisoner as evidence in his own favor, while not a word of the *dying* declarations of the slave was given to the jury. And yet the Chief Equity Judge of South Carolina tells us that slaves cannot be *put to death*, they cannot be *tortured* in that State.

"Earth is sick,  
And Heaven is weary of the hollow words,  
Which *States* and kingdoms utter, when they talk  
Of truth and justice."

The law reports of the other slave States disclose similar enormities. From all that I have read and heard upon the subject of whipping done by masters and overseers to slaves in our country, I have come to the conclusion that some

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\* To let the reader know what is meant by this new-fangled oath, I extract a piece from a South Carolina Law of 1740, which is still in force, and answers the same purpose of screening and encouraging murder, as the Examining Court does in Virginia, and as the direct sanctioning of crimes in the laws of Georgia and North Carolina:

"If any slave shall suffer in his life, limbs or members, when no white person shall be present, or being present, shall *neglect* or *refuse* to *give evidence* concerning the same, in every such case, the owner or other person who shall have the care and government of the slave, shall be deemed and taken to be guilty of such offence; unless such owner or other person can make the contrary appear by good and sufficient evidence, OR SHALL, BY HIS OWN OATH, CLEAR AND EXCULATE HIMSELF, which oath every court where such offence shall be tried, is hereby empowered to administer, and to acquit the *offender* accordingly, if clear proof of the offence be not made by two witnesses at least, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."—2 *Brevard's Dig.* 242.

Observe the preposterous character of the concluding clause. The exculpatory oath is authorized *only* in case that no white person was present, or if present, is unwilling to testify (just as though courts could not coerce!), and yet the legislators of Carolina used the miserable affectation of supposing what is excluded by the very conditions of the oath, that two whites were present and may appear after the oath is taken, and the prisoner acquitted! This flimsy cover of an atrocious feature, is like a winding sheet upon Death—it renders the grim tyrant more hideous.

hundreds of *cartwhips* and *cowskins*, instruments which I am told make the skin fly like feathers, and cut frequently to the bone, are in *perpetual daily motion* in the slave States. To effect so much whipping, there must be many hands employed in all the working hours. I have no doubt, also, that many die annually of this and other species of torture. The southern papers, notwithstanding the extreme timidity of the press there, frequently contain paragraphs as long as a thumb nail, stating cases of death by whipping or other barbarity. There must be very many of which we never hear a word. I may be mistaken, but I believe that the annual number of colored people who come to an untimely end in consequence of "due correction," and "moderate whipping," or confinement, and privation of food, must be great beyond any conception which we have formed upon the subject. But the number, more or less, is not material. A single instance permitted by a community to go unpunished, would show the state of things, and ought to arouse the attention and excite the active exertions of the whole country.

The cases which have already been stated would satisfy you, without the addition of another word, that the killing of slaves may be carried on with impunity at the south. If the slaves were given over to their masters and drivers to be dealt with as they please, but with the condition to spare life, and with a certain and condign punishment for the breach of the condition, their lot would be comparatively happy. But no such condition is imposed in this republic. It is true that in all the slave States they do pretend to place the murder of a colored person on the same footing as that of a white; but in a multitude of cases which have come to my knowledge through newspapers, law reports, conversation and private letters, I never heard of a white man being impartially punished for the murder of a colored man. The severest punishment in such case, that I ever heard of, was that of one *Thomas J. Bond*, of Maryland, who, for the *murder* of a negro, was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment in the penitentiary. I will venture to predict that he will not stay his time out. It would be a wonder if he were not pardoned already.

By the law of Athens, the murder of a slave was punished like any other murder. The commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," does not discriminate between the killing of a noble and a bondman. It is strange that slaveholders and their abettors, who must be aware that slavery in this country involves murders without number or end, do never

think of *this* most familiar text, when seeking, as they often do, to clothe the deformity of their practices,

“With old odd ends stolen forth of holy writ.”

The civil law protected the lives of slaves.\* It is true there was a time at Rome, when a master had the power of life and death. But there was an excuse for the Romans, which cannot be pleaded for us. Their original slaves were prisoners of war. The right existing originally to put them to the sword on the field of battle, was supposed still to appertain to the captor, or to be transferred by him to the holder. If slaves were afterwards made such, for debt or for crime, it is not singular that they should all have been brought under the laws and customs previously established for their caste. But this sanguinary principle was greatly assuaged, in the worst of times, by the power which every slave possessed of getting and laying up money, loaning it on interest, and ransoming himself. The power of life and death in the master, co-existing with that of ransoming himself in the slave, differs from the power as exercised in the United States, as the situation of an unarmed man pushed at by an assassin in a narrow cell, differs from that of the same man in an open passage, where he has a chance to escape by flight. But is it not monstrous, that Americans in the nineteenth century of the *Christian* era, and nearly in the fifth century of *printing*, should resort to the most barbarous stage of the barbarous and bloody slave code of Rome? To see that American republicans have rendered those laws still more barbarous and bloody; to see that they have sundered from them those mild companions whose influence softened their harsh character, is a mortification and grief which I know not how to express.

So, again, in regard to Greek slavery. The Chancellor of Carolina goes for authority to the iron institutions of Lacedæmon, while he entirely disregards the example of the wise and polished Athenians, the fathers of European civilization and literature. He treats the Athenians as if they were not Greek! In the condition and treatment of the *Melots*, who were unquestionably prisoners of war, the southern slaveholders *can* find precedents for their conduct and the conduct of their children toward their bondmen, *and they can find them nowhere else in ancient or modern times.*† But even here

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\* The master of a slave killed by another, may prosecute him for a *capital* crime.—*Inst.* 4, 311. [Compare this with preceding note from *Inst.* 1, 8, 2.]

† *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. 1, p. 141—2.

the parallel fails, because at Sparta the slaves were the property of the state, and, except at those seasons when they were turned out to give the young whelps of Sparta a taste of blood, they were in all probability removed from the cruelty of individuals, and subject, in respect to tasks and punishment, to the magistrates alone. It is certain that the number of stripes was limited. In this, the Helots fared better than the slaves of the south; but, like them, they were cut off from *learning*, and deprived of the natural nourishment of the soul. Slavites show by such measures, and not by their affected sneers and inhuman scoffs, what is their real opinion of the intellectual and moral faculties of the slave. They would not take such pains to repress the working of the spirit, if they did not fear its power.

In Sparta, the slaves were compelled to drink until they were drunk, and then exhibited before the youth, in order to inspire them with a just abhorrence of intemperance. This coincides admirably with the impious theory that some defenders of the southern system have put forth, viz., that slavery is a valuable institution, because it enables those who behold it, the better to appreciate liberty!\*. The *living* side of a paralytic might as well say, that life is more warm and sensible in its flesh, by reason of the contrast with the side that is *dead*.

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\* A learned and religious man, on hearing some passages from speeches of Mr. Hayne of South Carolina, and Mr. Roane of Virginia, supporting this theory, made no reply, but casting down his eyes, exclaimed: "Devil! go back to Hell!" Surely, such principles belong there, and to the beings who dwell there. They make one feel as if he were breathing its hot and thick atmosphere. Mr. Hayne pressed into his service the authority of Edmund Burke. Burke's remark, thus strained to fit a foul thing, a thing utterly repugnant to his pure and elevated spirit, and to his known abhorrence of slavery, was made in the ardor of debate, and is to be taken with at least as much allowance as Mr. Calhoun claimed in his *nullification* speech last winter, for his *tariff* speech in the winter of 1816. But it must be acknowledged, that it does seem to imply, that there is something very ennobling in the effects of despotism upon despots. Burke's argument led him to view a single point. If he had undertaken to survey all points, and state the general result, his conclusions would have been less flattering to slavites. I suppose that Burke meant to say, that men surrounded by slaves, and exercising unlimited power over them, would manifest "a more high and haughty spirit" in defending and maintaining their power, their liberties and luxuries, than a hard working and frugal farmer would to defend his fields, his fireside, and the right to enjoy them in peace and security. There is some plausibility in this, but very little truth; and in the application which Mr. Hayne makes of it, no truth at all. The nobility of all countries, are, *as a class*, habitually brave. An *external*

It is strange that that awful censure of all just men, from Plato to Franklin, which the inhuman treatment of the Helots drew upon the Lacedæmonians and their lawgiver, did not deter "the chivalry" of this country from reviving and aggravating it. The despotic governments of Charles, Elizabeth, and the Louises, never thought of opening this storehouse of precedents to justify barbarity. Those generous tyrants appear to have thought that it was sufficient that adventurers in the new world should treat bondmen like beasts for the purposes of gain, but not for taste and amusement. Accordingly, we find neither these nor any other sovereigns of Europe, encouraging brutality by law. This

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sentiment of personal honor, pernicious as it generally, and false as it always is, serves to spur them to positions of danger, merely for the sake of danger. On occasions not involving any valuable social principle or evident duty, but merely selfish ambition, pride and *personal* consequence, a *nobleman* is more brave than a simple *freeman*.

But let a case of duty and patriotism be presented to the industrious and modest yeoman and mechanic; let their unsophisticated sense be convinced, and their wholesome blood be up, and I undertake to affirm that there is no courage more unflinching, and none half so constant as theirs. The nobility may be seduced to betray their country, as they often have been; but the industrious and independent cultivators and artizans have principles tough as their hands, and rigid as their muscles. Their spirits being aroused, and the cause approved, they will, *as a class*, display an intrepidity of soul, and a tenacity of purpose, as much superior to the vain hauteur, affected nonchalance, and ear-rubbed rashness of any puny whipster of quality, as bright silver is to black dross—to a *caput mortuum* in a bullet ladle. The Cavaliers and Roundheads furnish an illustration. In fact, I may say, that they are the *same parties* somewhat modified by time and education, to which my comparison was intended to apply.

These are the remarks which have often been suggested to my mind by the haughty speech of Mr. Hayne, and the frequent taunts of southern planters respecting northern poltroonery. I look upon warlike courage as a very inferior virtue at best, and one which ought always to be subordinate to the *civic* virtues, but when it comes to be prized for its own sake, and leads on to danger, instead of waiting on duty, it then becomes a disgrace to individuals, and a scourge to families and communities.

It will take more than "paper shots" (to use a phrase of Cromwell), to convince me that the northern men lack sterling courage, although they have been frequently routed in the Charleston Mercury and Columbia Telescope; and constantly *represented in all* the nullifying newspapers in the attitude of running away like the southern slaves.

Great things will be achieved by Yankee courage whenever they go forth with a heart in the cause. But until occasion calls, let them not "stand to their arms!" Without their valor the union would not have been formed nor defended. If they have fought at Louisburg,

the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, whether they intended it or not, have certainly done in a palpable manner. When legislatures make statutes that "killing by moderate correction" is not murder, as Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, have done, or when a legislature enacts that the killer of a man may exculpate himself by his own oath, (just as though the heart that would murder, would not perjure), then, I say, without meaning to exaggerate or to extenuate any thing, that those legislatures and those States do encourage murder, and that the citizens who do not use their best exertions to prevent or repeal such laws, are, individually and collectively, partakers in the gigantic guilt. Start not at this. It is truth; and it is time for us to look it full in the face, though it do petrify us with horror, or sicken us with disgust.

But there is another principle common to all the slave codes of the south, which renders murder perfectly easy and safe in the States which have *not* given *express* license to kill. It is that no slave can be a witness where a *white* is concerned.\* In all the slave States, therefore, if a master or driver bear malice towards a slave, he has only to withdraw from the eyes of white men, or in that peculiarly "Christian" *sovereignty*, South Carolina, to have no whites present, who would "be willing" to testify against him, and he may then kill at leisure.

We are often told, in the same boastful spirit in which we are so prone to speak of ourselves in comparison with other nations, that against all the *possible* evils and abuses of a power so absolute, there is ample security for the slave, and for the *character of our country* in the mildness and humanity of *American* masters.†

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Quebec, and Bunker Hill, and in every field of the revolution from Lexington to Yorktown; if they have stoutly borne the starry banner over every sea; let them continue to show in peace that appropriate courage, which more than once has saved the Union; that courage which is most difficult, and yet by the million is despised; that courage which is most meritorious, but yet is rewarded by the foolish with contempt; that courage, in short, which is not afraid to be called coward,—not afraid to fear God!

\* *Haywood's Manual of Laws of North Carolina*, p. 530. *Constitution of Georgia*, Art. 4, and 12. *Laws of Tennessee*, Act of Oct. 23, 1799, &c.

† Col *Murat*, son of the ex-king of Naples, who became a slave owner in Alabama, says, "that the slave is too much beneath his master to be an object of resentment," and that, "if the planter should be transported with passion and abuse his slave, he would lose forever the character of a gentleman." Then it seems that some masters have been passionate and cruel, or it would not be known what they

Has the Author of nature issued a new edition of man in the Southern States more correct than any preceding? I believe not. I suppose that southern masters are as good as we should be in their places. I suppose they are about as good masters as their slaves would be, if situations were reversed, and no better. I do not perceive that we republicans are free from the passions and vices to which all men are liable, or that we have as yet discovered a *panacea* for the diseases of the soul and the state.

In the first place, the bare wish to have despotic power, affords a very bad augury for the use of it. No man nor set of men would insist upon having it, if they did not expect to abuse it.

But we will not rest the case upon auguries. There is experience, and there are facts to guide our conclusions on this subject.

A series of murders committed by a slave owner near Woodville, Mississippi, has lately been published in some of the few papers which dare publish such things. The man referred to, has murdered five slaves within as many years, with perfect and entire impunity.\*

In South Carolina, according to their Judicial Reports, one *Gee* was indicted for murder, by shooting a negro boy. He was found guilty, and *fined*. The report of the case says, that "the jury, after the closest evidence, brought him in guilty of murder." He was worth nothing, and being committed to jail, his counsel moved that he be admitted to the poor debtor's oath, which, after argument, was refused. Charles Cotesworth Pinkney, who was the prosecuting officer, and a great advocate for slavery, acknowledged, in the course of his argument against the motion, that "the frequency of the offence, which deserved death, was owing in a great measure to the nature of the punishment."†

In another case, one Taylor was convicted of wilful murder of a slave, by deliberately shooting him, as he was sitting quietly in a boat. Taylor was *fined*. This was in South Carolina.‡

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would lose by it. But suppose he has lost the character of a gentleman, or never had it, what security has the slave then? Murat defends slavery zealously. His work is entitled, "*Esquisse des Etats Unis*. Paris, 1832."

\* *Professor Wright's statement*. See *New England Galaxy*, of June 8th, 1833.

† *Bay's S. C. Reports*, vol. 1, p. 163.

‡ *McCord's S. C. Reports*, vol. 2, p. 483.

Mr. Stuart, the author of a new and excellent book of travels in the United States, relates a case which occurred in Charleston. One Slater, assisted by another person, deliberately bound a man slave, beheaded him, and threw his body into the dock. Slater was punished by *fine*.

Burning slaves alive is not very uncommon in the slave States. Within two years, a case occurred in Alabama. The subject was a boy. He was charged with killing his master. The magistrate, without examination, gave him into the hands of a mob, who committed him to the flames.\* If Mrs. Chapman had happened to have a *slave*, Mina might have been now living like a gentleman.

A negro-hunt seems a very common occurrence in the slave States. When negroes run away from the happiness which their masters say they enjoy at home, a hunt is immediately set on foot. In the pursuit, with dogs and guns, there appears to be not the least hesitation in shooting the fugitives, or tearing them in pieces. I recollect an extract from a private letter written near Edenton, in North Carolina, two or three years ago, (before the Southampton insurrection), which, among other matters of no great moment, mentioned that they had had "great negro-shooting lately."

I have heard of shooting negroes from trees with as little concern, and apparently with as keen a zest, as a Northern sportsman drops a squirrel or a quail.

During the Southampton insurrection, many were killed who were unquestionably as innocent as the babe unborn. I have heard of one very affecting case. A party of horsemen started from Richmond with the just and noble resolution of killing every colored person they should meet in Southampton County. They arrived opposite the cabin of a free negro, who was hoeing in his field hard by. They called to him, and asked if that were Southampton? "Yes," said the negro, "you have just crossed the line by yonder tree." They shot him dead, and continued their trooping.†

In South Carolina, within a year, a planter named Isabell, hearing some noise in the avenue leading to his mansion, which he supposed to come from negroes, stepped forth with

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\* *Terrible*. A negro slave named William, is stated in a S. C. paper to have been *burned alive* near Greenville, S. C., for the murder of a white man.—*Phil. Gaz.*, Aug. 1825.

† *Liberator*, vol. 2, 1832. See, also, narrative of the Editor of the Richmond Whig, who was on duty in the militia in that insurrection.

his gun and fired. On examination, he found he had killed a friend and neighbor !\*

I shall close the exhibition of facts which I proposed to present under this head, by referring to an awful case, related by the Rev. Mr. Rankin, in his Letters, in the following words :

“ Slave holders have the power of life and death over their slaves. And some of them do exercise such power with perfect impunity. It is undeniable, that some drive their slaves, nearly naked, through frost and snow, until they perish with cold, some gradually starve them to death, and some cause them to expire beneath the burden of excessive toil. Others whip them to death, in a manner that more than equals the cruelty of the most barbarous savages, and not a few murder them with clubs, axes and guns, or such like fatal weapons ! It is undeniable, that in these several ways many slaves are murdered with the utmost impunity ! It is seldom that even so much as a prosecution is incurred by murdering them ; and *I do not recollect of ever hearing of a single individual being executed for taking the life of his slave.* I am persuaded there is as much humane feeling in Fleming County, Kentucky, as can be found in any slave holding section of country, of the same extent ; and I think this will be readily admitted by all who are acquainted with the people of that County ; and yet there is a certain individual, who, in consequence of an unjust suspicion, fell upon his poor old slave, beat him in the face, and mashed it in such a manner as soon terminated his life ; yet by it, he incurred not even so much as a prosecution ! I mention this case, not because it is either singular or novel, but because it happened in one of the most humane sections of one of the mildest slave holding counties, and therefore is well calculated to show what is the real state of things, even where slavery wears its mildest aspect. It shows clearly that the system of slavery, in its best form, is fraught with the most horrid murders.

I will close this part of my subject, by giving you an account of one of the most terrible displays of slave holding power—one that ought to make every slave holding nation tremble, and one that must fill every humane bosom with horror ! I will give it just as I received it from the pen of the Rev. William Dickey, who is well acquainted with the circumstances which he describes, and who is a man of undoubted veracity :

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\* *Liberator*, vol. 2, 1832, Dec. 29. Art. “ *Fruits of Slavery.*”

“In the County of Livingston (Kentucky), near the mouth of Cumberland, lived Lilburn Lewis, a sister’s son of the venerable Jefferson. He, ‘who suckled at fair Freedom’s breast,’ was the wealthy owner of a considerable number of slaves, whom he drove constantly, fed sparingly, and lashed severely. The consequence was, they would run away. This must have given, to a man of spirit and a man of business, great anxieties until he found them, or until they had starved out, and returned. Among the rest, was an ill-grown boy, about seventeen, who, having just returned from a skulking spell, was sent to the spring for water, and, in returning, let fall an elegant pitcher. It was dashed to shivers upon the rocks. This was the occasion. It was night, and the slaves all at home. The master had them collected into the most roomy negro-house, and a rousing fire made. When the door was secured, that none might escape, either through fear of him or sympathy with George, he opened the design of the interview, namely, that they might be effectually taught to stay at home, and obey his orders. All things being now in train, he called up George, who approached his master with the most unreserved submission. He bound him with cords, and, by the assistance of his younger brother, laid him on a broad bench, or meat block. He now proceeded to WHANG off George by the ancles!!! It was with the broad axe!—In vain did the unhappy victim SCREAM AND ROAR! He was completely in his master’s power. Not a hand among so many, durst interfere. Casting the feet into the fire, he lectured them at some length. He WHACKED HIM OFF below the knees! George roaring out, and praying his master to BEGIN AT THE OTHER END! He admonished them again, throwing the legs into the fire! Then above the knees, tossing the joints into the fire! He again lectured them at leisure. The next stroke severed the thighs from the body. These were also committed to the flames. And so off the arms, head and trunk, until all was in the fire! Still protracting the intervals with lectures, and threatenings of like punishment, in case of disobedience, and running away, or disclosure of this tragedy. Nothing now remained, but to consume the flesh and bones; and for this purpose the fire was briskly stirred, until two hours after midnight. When, as though the earth would cover out of sight the nefarious scene, and as though the great Master in heaven would put a mark of his displeasure upon such monstrous cruelty, a sudden and surprising shock of earthquake overturned the coarse and heavy back wall, composed of rock and clay, which completely covered the fire and

the remains of George. This put an end to the amusements of the evening. The negroes were now permitted to disperse, with charges to keep this matter among themselves, and never to whisper it in the neighborhood, under the penalty of a like punishment. When he retired, the lady exclaimed, 'O! Mr. Lewis, where have you been, and what have you done?' She had heard a strange pounding, and dreadful screams, and had smelled something like fresh meat burning! He said that he had never enjoyed himself at a ball so well as he had enjoyed himself that evening. Next morning, he ordered the negroes to rebuild the back wall, and he himself superintended the work, throwing the pieces of flesh that still remained with the bones, behind, as it went up, thus hoping to conceal the matter. But it could not be hid—much as the negroes seemed to hazard, they whispered the horrid deed to the neighbors, who came, and, before his eyes, tore down the wall, and finding the remains of the boy, they testified against him. But before the court sat, to which he was bound over, he was, by an act of suicide, with George, in the eternal world.

"Sure, there are bolts, red with no common wrath, to blast the man.

WILLIAM DICKEY.

"*Bloomingsburg, Oct. 8, 1824.*

"N. B. This happened in 1811, if I be correct, the 16th of December. It was the Sabbath!"

"This awful scene of cruelty exhibits what tremendous things the slave holder may do! And though the dreadful wretch was taken up on suspicion, and bound over to court, yet, I apprehend there was little probability of his actually falling under the sentence of the law.\* He might have eventually, so managed the matter, as to make the sentence fall upon the heads of his slaves. But be that as it might, it is certain that the State, by making men his property, gave him the opportunity of perpetrating the horrid deed, and therefore it stands first in the list of crimes!"

It must be constantly borne in mind that such barbarities are permitted, in addition to those which the *law* executes upon the colored people.

In Greece and Rome, slaves might not only learn to read and write, but they were encouraged so to do,† and many of

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\* This apprehension is rendered very probable, by the fact that the populace actually let him out of prison, in order to screen him from justice.

† Such as had a genius for them, were sometimes instructed in literature and the liberal arts.—*Cic. Hor. Ep. II. 27.*

them became learned men, fine artists, and attained to the highest reputation and respect. Terence was an African, and a slave at Rome. Æsop was a slave at Athens. Slaves were private tutors of their masters' children. In our Republic, and under "the benign influence of Christianity," slaves, and even free colored persons, are forbidden to learn to read and write, under penalty of being dispersed, as "an unlawful assembly," and of receiving *twenty lashes*, to be given by any sworn officers, with such assistance as they may call. These are authorized by law to enter and disperse any assembly for that purpose.\* In all the South, the *patroles*, certain armed gangs, have a like authority, and I am informed they exercise it in the most savage manner, and that the soldiers of the *patroles*, which are a species of standing army, are the lowest, most ignorant, and most intemperate white men to be found in the southern States.† The same civil and military officers, soldiers and assistants, have a similar authority as to assemblies of colored persons, bond or free, convened for religious worship. They may break in upon them, and inflict *thirty-nine lashes* upon each individual.‡

In North Carolina, to teach a slave to read or write, or to sell or give him *any* book or pamphlet, is punished with *thirty-nine lashes*, or with imprisonment, at the discretion of the court, if the offender be a free negro; and with a fine of \$200, if a white. The reason set forth in the preamble to the North Carolina law, is, that "teaching slaves to read and write tends to excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion."§

In Georgia, if a white teach a slave, free negro, or person of color, to read or write, he shall be fined not exceeding \$500, and imprisoned at the *discretion* of the court. If a slave, free negro, or colored person, teach any other slave, free negro, or colored person, he shall be fined *and* whipped, or fined or whipped at the *discretion* of the court.||

I am unable to specify the recent *improvements* of South Carolina, because, for a few late years, the laws of that State have not been transmitted to the government of Massachu-

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\* *Statutes of Virginia*, 1830. Ch. 29, §4. (A similar law was passed first in Virginia, in 1803.)

† *Stuart's Three Years*. Verbal information from gentlemen who have been in South Carolina, agrees with and goes beyond Stuart, as to the profligate and reckless character of the *patroles*.

‡ *Statutes of Virginia*, 1831. Ch. 22, §2.

§ *Statutes of North Carolina*, 1830—1, Ch. 4.

|| *Statute of Georgia*, Dec. 22, 1829.

setts, in exchange for our own, agreeably to an excellent arrangement proposed by this State some twenty years ago. All accounts which I have read of them, however, concur in representing the new enactments to be even more severe than those of Virginia and North Carolina. I learn by Brevard's Digest, that teaching slaves to write was prohibited under penalty of £100 in that State, nearly one hundred years ago, viz., in the year 1740.\* Reading and writing are now prohibited, under heavy penalties, *to all colored persons*.

The acquisition of Louisiana has increased the oppression of the people of color, as much as it has increased our territory. The establishment of republican government there, has been, directly and indirectly, a sore calamity to the colored man; directly, because it has increased despotism twofold, and indirectly, because it has opened a new and insatiable market for slaves, has increased their value, riveted afresh their chains, and caused increased activity of slave traders and kidnappers in every other State. Louisiana has departed so far from the comparatively mild regime of the Spanish slave colonies, that she has at length rivalled, if not surpassed, the tyranny of the neighboring *slave republics*.

When I have sometimes attempted to shame our countrymen, by holding up the examples of gentleness and kindness towards colored people, which the Spanish colonies and the South American States afford, I have been repeatedly answered that those people are very differently situated from us; that they have a population so mixed as to be almost homogeneous; and that individuals, of whatever origin, differ but little in color. They do not differ so little but that lynx-eyed prejudice can discern a difference between them, the moment they set foot on this shore! But, admitting the reason to be sound, why should it not apply to Louisiana? There is not a more mixed population in America; there never was any where, since the building of Babel.

In Louisiana, the punishment for teaching a slave to read or write, is twelve months' imprisonment. For *any person to write, print, publish or distribute any thing having a tendency to produce discontent among the colored people, or insubordination among the slaves, is an offence punishable with imprisonment for life, or with death, at the discretion of the court.*

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\* *Brevard's Digest of S. C. Laws*, 243. [Yet Mr. Finley, in the discussion with Prof. Wright at the Park Street Church, asserted that the laws prohibiting reading and writing, were caused by Garrison's paper. Mr. Garrison's paper, and Mr. Garrison too, may reply, like the lamb to the wolf, "Ah, Sir, I was not born then."]

As a suitable commentary on the great and dangerous vagueness of the southern laws on such subjects, I will cite another provision of the Louisiana law of 1830, and request you to compare it and the one last mentioned, with North Carolina's anathema against the A B C, and against *any* book, including, of course, the Holy Scriptures! In the opinion of North Carolina, these "have a tendency to excite dissatisfaction in the minds" of the *animals* called negroes, though they have been taught to pigs and parrots without peril, from time immemorial! "If *any* person in Louisiana, from the *bar, bench, stage, pulpit*, or any other place, or *in conversation*, shall make use of *any* language, *signs*, or *actions*, having a *tendency* to produce *discontent* among free colored people, or insubordination among the slaves, such person shall be punished with imprisonment from *three* to *twenty-one* years, or with *death*, at the *discretion* of the court." \*

It is a pity that the Louisianians have said so much about Gen. Jackson's martial law; no martial law ever equalled this. There is nothing in the annals of tyranny which surpasses it. Reflect upon the language of this statute, (and it is also the language of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, for the crimes which they all talk of are not acts, but only *tendencies* to cause acts), and see what a latitude of construction it admits. It may embrace, as we have an instance in the preamble of the North Carolina act, any book, pamphlet, sentence, word, or a letter of the alphabet! It is an India rubber phraseology, which may contract to the size of a thumb nail, or stretch around the neck.

And we are the people who parrot about liberty and equality, and the British yoke, and Tiberius and Nero! The standing illustration of Nero's tyranny was, that he issued and executed edicts which he caused to be fixed so high that the subjects could not read them. Yet, it cannot escape observation, that if one man could stick them up, another could ascend to read them. But what shall we say of this mass of sanguinary laws, of which it is one of their principal provisions, that they shall remain a sealed book to the poor slave and his children for ever! to him and them who are to be affected by them? The annals of the world afford nothing which exceeds this.

In the United States, a slave of any age or sex may be torn from relations and friends, by day or night, to satisfy a pecu-

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\* *Statute of Louisiana*, March 16, 1830.

niary demand against the master. The British slave code of 1831, totally prohibits separation of husband and wife, and parent and child under sixteen years of age. Even the *Jamaica* slave code, framed by an assembly of slave holders, provides that families taken in execution shall not be separated, and that slaves shall not be levied upon on *Saturday*, any more than on *Sunday*. The *Code Noir* forbade the sale of husband, wife, and minor children, or to seize slaves for debt, except for the purchase money of the same slaves.\*

You have already seen that even emancipated persons in the United States are liable to seizure for any old debt of their emancipator. This liability to be torn from relatives by seizure or sale, is restricted everywhere except in this Republic. It is true that we have here no *legal* marriages of slaves.† Yet the slaves of the South do form connubial relations, which greatly soften the severity of their lot. A little family rises up to rejoice at the parent's coming at eventide. Their infant shouts, their tottling haste to meet his arms, and their joyous welcome, restore the sense that he is a man, which whips have taken away. He feels that his being, "though full of pain," is not wholly worthless. His cabin has its comforts. He brings home food, and the little society is cheered. He lays him down to rest. The deep sleep of weariness sinks his senses in forgetfulness of the present, and shows him in dreams blest visions of the future. Meantime the future comes, and is gone. His babes are missing from his side, they are upon the waves, they have disappeared for ever from his sight; while he, chained for life, in a narrow circle, cannot even have the consolation of wandering over the earth in search of them.

The internal slave trade of the United States has all the characteristics of the foreign, except alone "the middle passage."‡ But I am yet to learn that a voyage from the Chesapeake Bay to Georgia, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, or the

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\* *London Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 3, No. 2. *Ib.*, No. 1. *Enc. Jur.*, Art. *Esclavage*, p. 334.

† By the *Code Noir*, marriages of slaves are sacred as other marriages.—*Enc. Jur.*, Art. *Esclavage*, p. 322. *London Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 5, No. 1.

‡ "Thomas Clarkson states, in his *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, that the arrival of slave ships on the coasts of Africa, is the uniform signal for the immediate commencement of wars for procuring prisoners, for sale and exportation to America and the West Indies. In Maryland and Delaware, the same drama is now performed in miniature. The arrival of the man-traffickers, laden with cash, at their respective *stations*, near the coasts of a great American water,

*Texas*, is likely to be much more pleasant, while it lasts, than any other slave voyage. I am informed by credible persons, that the slave traders take just so much care of their merchandize, in its passage from market to market, as is necessary for its *preservation*, and *no more*. Whatever they can economize in this respect, is clear gain, added to the difference of value in different markets. If African slave traders afford for daily allowance a decayed yam, and a pint of water, it is highly probable to my mind that *American* slave traders will not do much better. No law with *us* proportions the number they shall carry, to the reasonable and comfortable capacity of the vessel, as the English laws did, in respect to the African slave trade, long before it was abolished.\* No law obliges the American captain or owner to provide a sufficient stock of wholesome provisions "for each and every passenger," during the voyage. Congress have found it necessary to tie up, by strong statutes, the avarice of captains, who bring *white* emigrants into our ports, or carry *white* passengers from them.† They have been obliged, by known instances of cruelty to Irish and other passengers, to prescribe the *ship room* and the *provisions*, which each passenger shall be entitled to have, and they have laid captains and owners under no less a penalty than the forfeiture of the vessel, if they fail to comply with the law. This we do for those who have some power to assert their own rights, and are not cut off by inhuman custom and prejudice from the common offices of humanity. But as

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called justly, by Mr. Randolph, '*a Mediterranean sea*,' or at their several *inland posts*, near the dividing line of Maryland and Delaware, (at some of which they have grated prisons for the purpose), is the well known signal for the professed *kidnappers*, like beasts of prey, to commence their nightly invasions upon the *flocks*; extending their ravages, (generally attended with bloodshed, and sometimes with murder), and spreading terror and consternation amongst both free-men and slaves, throughout the *sandy regions*, from the western to the eastern shores. These '*two-legged featherless animals*,' or *human blood-hounds*, when overtaken (rarely) by the messengers of law, are generally found armed with instruments of death, sometimes with pistols with *latent* spring daggers attached to them! Mr. Cooper, one of the representatives to Congress from Delaware, assured me that he had often been afraid to send one of his servants out of his house in the evening, from the danger of their being seized by kidnappers."

"While at Wilmington, (Del.), I accidentally heard a black woman telling the gate-keeper of the bridge, that she had set out to go to Georgetown, (Del.), but was returning without having reached it, for fear of being caught on the road by the kidnappers."—*Torrey's Portraiture*, p. 47.

\* *Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, vol. 2, p. 98.

† *Laws of United States*, 1819, Ch. 170.

to poor slaves, who have no protection but what legislators may deign to throw around them, *they* are magnanimously abandoned to the tender mercies of the slave trader, (a character held infamous even among slavites), and to the voluntary kindness of those captains and owners of vessels, who have cupidity enough to engage in this cruel business.

In the year of 1827, the internal slave trade in the empire of Great Britain ceased for ever.\* Now, it is *death* to carry on a *domestic*, as much as to carry on the foreign slave trade. Yet, do *we* still permit the wicked traffic to go on in this country. It is the most brisk of all under the very droppings of the republican sanctuary. The District of Columbia is the grand mart for the sale of men. Kofle after kofle are collected in that wretched space, and driven, under the flourish of whips and the foldings of the flag, by the very doors of Congress. The clank of their chains makes fine harmony with the voices of pretty orators, who are up, praising *liberty*.†

As the domestic ties and enjoyments of the slave may be

\* *Nineteenth Annual Report of the British African Institution.*

† “*Internal Slave Trade.* John Woolfolk, of New Orleans, advertises ninety-eight negroes for sale, just received from Baltimore, by the brig Lady Munroe. Drove from 25 to 100, are frequently met with on roads leading south-west; and from 20 to 30 men are sometimes fastened to one chain, and thus marched to market. ‘I tremble,’ says Mr. Jefferson, ‘when I think that God is just.’ ”—*Niles’ Register*, Aug. 20, 1825.

[The domestic is worse than the African slave trade, in this: that here fathers (white fathers) sell their own children. John Newton, who resided nine years in Africa, and was a slave trader, says he never heard of such a thing there. See *Gregoire*, p. 70.]

“A white man, having married one of his slaves, who bore him several children, sold the whole of them together, as he would a drove of cattle; and it is said such instances are frequent. A *gentleman* from the South tried to sell his half brother, his father’s son by a slave, but was prevented by a citizen, who procured his liberty for the half brother.”—*Torrey’s Portraiture of Domestic Slavery*, p. 15.

“W. P. Stevens was arrested at Fredericksburg (Va.), for kidnapping, and offering for sale, a mulatto slave 7 years old, the child of his sister—a white woman!”—*Liberator*, vol. 2, No. 52, Dec. 29, 1832. Art. “*Fruits of Slavery.*”

“*Kidnapping.* The Winchester (Va.) Republican has an interesting narrative of a case of kidnapping, in which a woman was rescued, though the wretch who sold her to a trader in human flesh, escaped. Dealing in slaves has become a large business. *Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with iron thumb screws and gags, and ornamented with cowskins and other whips, oftentimes bloody.* But the laws of these States permit the traffic, and it is suffered.”—*Niles’ Register*, vol. 35, p. 4.

“August 30, 1828. 190 slaves were embarked at Baltimore for New Orleans.”—*Ib.*

suddenly and hopelessly ruptured and destroyed by any sheriff, slave trader, or kidnapper, so may they, also, by the violence of the slave owner, his sons, his overseers, his friends and his visiters. From the legislation of Athens to that of Jamaica, no code, except ours, can be found, which does not at least *profess* to guard the persons of females. Nowhere, except *here*, are they obliged, on *pain of death*, to yield themselves unresisting victims, and become as the beasts which perish. Those of you who have been in a college where there were southern students, must have heard something of the practical effects of such a system. No doubt it was this, among other

On the above fact, the editor remarks: "They cannot forget that they have been forcibly separated from their wives, children, or parents, and what was their *home*, humble indeed, and miserable enough, but still the place of their nativity, endeared by a thousand pleasant recollections, and *home*, though never so homely!"

"*Slaves*. The schooner *Fell's Point*, Capt. Stagg, has been seized at New Orleans for smuggling slaves into New Orleans from the West Indies, and the Captain, supercargo and crew, were cast into prison for trial. The supercargo is said to be an old offender, and possibly now is about to meet with some reward of his *black crimes*."—*Niles' Register*, Aug. 27, 1825.

[Even the grave and conscientious Mr. Niles can dismiss such a matter with a pun.]

"*Domestic Slavery*. According to New Orleans papers, there were imported into that port, during the week commencing on the 16th ult., from various ports in the United States, 371 *slaves*, principally from Virginia.

By the <i>Tribune</i> ,	Alexandria,	141
" <i>Sarah</i> ,	Baltimore,	4
" <i>United States</i> ,	Norfolk,	150
" <i>James Ramsay</i> ,	Baltimore,	2
" <i>Susan</i> ,	Charleston,	14
" <i>Atlas</i> ,	Do.,	60
Total,		371"

*Niles' Register*, Oct. 22, 1831.

"The *American brig Comet*, belonging to Franklin Amfield, of Alexandria, wrecked on *Abaco*, cargo 160 slaves; great excitement at Nassau, lest the slaves should be emancipated. They were kept on board the small vessels. Speaker went in his robes to wait on the governor, with an address against discharging them."—*Ib.*, March 26, 1831.

Ex-President Adams, in presenting fifteen petitions of Quakers of Pennsylvania, for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, said that "there was a slave trade carried on in the District, which he did not know but it might be abolished. But the abolition of slavery he did not wish to discuss, nor to hear discussed there. If it were discussed, he should disclose the reasons why it would not have his support. He felt grateful to the Pennsylvania Quakers for their confidence in him; but he would say to the House, and to those who committed their petitions to him, that the most salutary medicines, when unduly administered, were the most deadly poisons."

*Ib.*, Dec. 17, 1831.

things, but more particularly this, which made Jefferson so exclaim against the system.\*

We have seen that many of the tyrannical statutes of the slave States apply equally to free colored men as to slaves: the exclusion of their testimony prevails in all the slave States,

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[Did it not equally occur to Mr. Adams that "the most deadly poisons," when duly administered, are remedies, sometimes the only remedies, of desperate diseases?

But at that time Mr. Adams was only thinking how he should deliver himself pleasingly to the majority, and to the South. Strange that a man who had seen and *felt* so much of the effects of the spirit of slavery, should have condescended "*to sprinkle sugar on that bottled spider.*" Mr. A. has, since that time, taken the stand which became his reputation, and the stations he has filled. There are more useful and important political truths in his minority report, than have been laid before Congress in any northern document since the Constitution was formed.]

Extract from "*A Ramble of six thousand Miles through the United States of America,*" by S. A. Ferrall, Esq. London, 1832.

"During my stay (at New Orleans), Doctor —— came down the river with thirty slaves, among whom were an old negro and negress, each between sixty and seventy years of age. This unfortunate old woman had borne twenty-one children, all of whom had been at different times sold in the Orleans market, and carried into other States, and into distant parts of Louisiana. The Doctor said, in order to induce her to leave home quietly, that he was bringing her into Louisiana for the purpose of placing her with some of her children. 'And now,' said the old negress, 'Aldo I suckle my massa at dis breast, yet now he sell me to sugar planter, after he sell all my children from me.' The gentleman was a strict Methodist, or 'saint,' and is, as I was informed, much esteemed by the preachers of that persuasion, because of his liberal contributions to their support." p. 194.

"Kidnapping free negroes is very common. It requires collusion between the seller and the buyer, as, in the regular trade, the dealer carries a certificate from the public authorities where the slave was purchased, and shows it when a purchaser presents himself."—*Id.*, p. 61.

\* "The whole commerce between master and slave," says Jefferson, "is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on one part, and degrading submissions on the other. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions; and thus nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances."—*Jefferson's Notes on Virginia*.

"What an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must wait with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is

and, lamentable to relate, in *one* at least of the free States, viz., Ohio. The interdiction of the alphabet and Bible, extends to them in some of the slave States; and they are taken and deemed to be slaves in every one of the twelve slave States, *until the contrary is proved*. The lowest drunken white

preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full,—when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness,—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and, by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality.”—*Jefferson's Correspondence*.

[In respect to the prodigious debauchery which slavery occasions, few will believe the state of things so bad as it is. On this important point, therefore, I shall cite several recent authorities. I, however, consider *Jefferson* as an unequivocal and decisive authority as to the tendency of slavery to cherish and inflame *every* bad passion. No man ever had a better knowledge of the subject.

The *Rev. J. D. Paxton* has published, at Lexington, Kentucky, within this year, a work entitled “*Letters on Slavery*.” This writer was formerly minister of a congregation at Cumberland, Virginia, and, in right of his wife, a slave holder. Having become, with his amiable companion, convinced that *slave holding* is a *sin*, he “immediately” set about the work of repentance. He gave freedom to his slaves, and began to preach and write to others, very gently, however, in favor of “immediate” repentance. This gave so great offence, that the congregation “immediately” dismissed him with contumely. There was no *gradualism* in this.

*Mr. Paxton's* work is full of good sense and good principle. His views are not mature on the Colonization Society; but for an accurate and honest description of the evils of slavery, his book may be referred to with perfect confidence.]

The following is an extract from *Mr. Paxton's* work :

“Some slaves have, indeed, a marriage ceremony performed. It is, however, usually done by one of their own color, and, of course, is not a legal transaction. And if done by a person legally authorized to perform marriages, still it would have no authority, because the law does not recognise marriage among slaves, so as to clothe it with the rights and immunities which it wears among citizens. The owner of either party might, the next day or hour, break up the connexion in any way he pleased. In fact, these connexions have no protection, and are so often broken up by sales and transfers and removals, that they are by the slaves often called ‘taking up together.’ The sense of marriage fidelity must be greatly weakened, if not wholly destroyed, by such a state of things. The effect is most disastrous.

“But there is another circumstance which deserves our notice. What effect is likely to be produced on the morals of the whites, from having about them, and under their absolute authority, female slaves who are deprived of the strongest motives to purity, and exposed to peculiar temptations to opposite conduct! The condition of female slaves is such, that promises and threatnings and management can hardly fail to conquer them. They are entirely dependent on their master. They have no way to make a shilling, to procure any article they need. Like all poor people, they are fond of finery, and wish to

may seize, scourge and imprison a free negro as a runaway slave, who, after a certain time, may be sold for a slave. This may be done even after he is *proved* to be free, if he cannot pay the expense of the whipping and imprisoning!! Here is, indeed, a reversal of the Roman law, which at all periods presumed in favor of liberty, and put the burden of proof upon

imitate those who are above them. What, now, are not presents and kind treatment, or the reverse, if they are not complying, likely to effect on such persons? And the fact that their children, should they have any through such intercourse, may expect better treatment from so near relations, may have its influence. That the vice prevails to a most shameful extent, is proved from the rapid increase of mulattoes. Oh, how many have fallen before this temptation; so many, that it has almost ceased to be a shame to fall! Oh, how many parents may trace the impiety and licentiousness and shame of their prodigal sons, to the temptations found in the female slaves of their own or neighbors' households! Irregular habits are thus formed, which often last through life. And many a lovely and excellent woman, confiding in vows of affection and fidelity, trusting to her power over her devoted lover, has, after uniting her fate with his, and giving him all that a woman has to give, found, when too late, how incorrigible are those habits of roving desire, formed in youth, and kept alive by the temptations and facilities of the slave system.

"Now, when we read the repeated declarations that 'fornicators and adulterers shall not inherit the kingdom of God,' and call to mind the teaching of our Lord, that all intercourse between the sexes, except what takes place between one man and one woman in marriage faith, amounts to those crimes; how can we, as believers in Christianity, uphold a system which presents this temptation both to the bond and free, and yet escape a participation in the guilt?" p. 129.

The *Rev. John Rankin* has the following, among other statements, on this "delicate subject":

"Again, slaves, in consequence of the manner in which they are raised, are generally prone to vicious indulgence, and many of them are exceedingly profligate: their master's children often mingle with them, and not only witness their vicious practices, but also listen to their lascivious conversation, and thus from infancy they become familiar with almost every thing wicked and obscene. And this, in connexion with easy access, becomes a strong temptation to lewdness. Hence it often happens, that the master's children practise the same vices which prevail among his slaves; and even the master himself is liable to be overwhelmed by the floods of temptation. And in some instances the father and his sons are involved in one common ruin; nor do the daughters always escape this impetuous fountain of pollution. Were it necessary, I could refer you to several instances of slaves actually seducing the daughters of their masters! Such seductions sometimes happen even in the most respectable slave holding families!" p. 80.

*Mr. Ferrall*, whom I have before quoted, has the following passage:

"Negresses, when young and likely, are often employed as wet nurses by white people; as also, by either the planter or his friends, to administer to their sensual desires. This frequently is a matter of speculation; for if the offspring, a mulatto, be a handsome female, 800 or 1000 dollars may be obtained for her in the New Orleans market. It

the party claiming a dispensation of the laws of nature, and maintaining the doctrine that a man is *not* a man.\*

It is impossible to calculate the extent of the cruelty and wretchedness to which this single change, however small it may appear, has subjected the American negro. It taints the whole atmosphere. There is the same difference between the Roman and American slave law in this respect, that there is between having wholesome daily bread, and eating it without care, and having it poisoned, and being obliged to extract the poison before a morsel can be tasted, and, after all, eating it at the constant peril of life. And yet Judge Dessausure, in the very focus of wrong and outrage, tells us of the ameliorations which "the benign principles of Christianity" have wrought in the slave laws of Rome.

But a multitude of enactments bear with an exclusive and ingenious severity upon the free people of color.

If they preach the Gospel, they are punished with "thirty-nine lashes."†

is an occurrence of no uncommon nature, to see a Christian father sell his own daughter, and the brother his own sister, by the same father."

*Ferrall's Rambles in the United States.*

Monsieur *Murat*, the latest champion of *liberty* that has been heard, thinks this species of *liberty* is very proper, as an offset to the sufferings of servitude, although he had, in a previous part of his book, described the of slaves as happy! As to the "delicate subject" we are upon, these are his words:

"Quant a deshonorer les jeunes negresses cela serait eu effet curieux. C'est en vain que leur modeste rougeur est cachee par le couleur de leur tint. Combien de fois ai-je appris avec effroi que mes jeunes amis avaiuet quitte le lit que mon hospitalite avait prepare pour aller se glisser dans le *cotton house*. Je craignais de voir le lendemain mon negre Virginus immoler sa fille Dolly...Mais pas du tout. Le bon pere etait trop sure de sa vertu. Je l'ai vu sourire au tentateur et poliment lui demander une chique de tabac comme pour se moquer de l'inutilite de ses efforts. Quant a la vertu des vieilles negresses meres de familles, qui aurait le courage de s'y frotter? Loin que cet' etat de choses soit une aggravation au sort des esclaves, je considere *la liberte* entiere dont ils jouissent sous ce rapport comme une espece de compensation de leur servitude."

The *Code Noir* forbade masters who were married to cohabit with their slaves.—*Enc. Jur.*; Art. *Esclavage*.

Rape committed against a slave, is a capital felony.—*Jamaica Slave Code*. See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 5, p. 66.

\* *Inst.* 3, 12.

† Any free colored person, ordained or not, to be punished *thirty-nine lashes*, and to be seized by any person, without warrant, for *preaching* or *exhorting*, at any religious meeting.—*Statute of Virginia*, 1831, ch. 22, §1.

Any free colored person attending such preaching or exhorting, to be punished *thirty-nine lashes*.—*Ibid*, §2.

For a free colored man to practise medicine, is death, unless *he prove* that he did it with good intentions, and no bad consequence attended it.\*

If a free colored person keep a school, or send to school, he is punished with stripes.†

If a free negro set foot within the territory of a slave State, or remain there, being emancipated, he is punished with stripes, imprisonment, and re-selling into slavery.‡

Free negroes, in slave States, cannot assemble together for any purpose, above the number of *five* or *seven*. They cannot go forth to walk, to breathe the common air, to look at the firmament of heaven, after 8 o'clock.

In some parts of the South, free colored persons cannot trade out of the cities or towns where they reside, under penalty of losing their goods, and suffering "thirty-nine lashes."§

Free colored persons are forbidden to enter a plantation, under the penalty of whipping by the owner or his overseers.||

[The patrols and police officers usually lay on more than "thirty nine lashes." The *limitation* is utterly disregarded.]

\* Free negroes, for administering medicine, to be punished with death.—*Statute of Virginia*, 1819. Ch. 160, §25.

† All meetings of free negroes or mulattoes for teaching reading and writing, to be taken and deemed to be *unlawful assemblies*, and to be broken, dispersed, and whipped by any sworn officer, *twenty lashes*, at the discretion of any justice of the peace.—*Statute of Virginia*, 1830. Ch. 39, §4.—*Brerard's Digest of Laws of South Carolina*, vol. 2, p. 254.

[There appears to be gross hypocrisy in the language of the statute of Virginia. The impression intended to be conveyed is, that the "justice of the peace" is to *try* the free colored persons accused of reading and writing, and to award sentence of "twenty lashes" or under, at his discretion. But if the jumble of provisions be looked to closely, it will be seen that between the acts of breaking doors and dispersing such an assembly, which any sworn officer (that is, a sheriff, a deputy, a constable, an officer of militia, or of the patrols) may do, no trial, nor taking before a justice of the peace can intervene. I therefore concluded that the "*discretion*" was not in fact confided to the justice, but to the constable, patrols, &c. *On inquiry, this turned out to be the fact.* Nay more, "the discretion" is not, *in practice*, limited to "twenty," or any number of lashes. Respectable witnesses of all colors assure me, that drunken patrols, constables, and other sworn officers, pay no regard to the number of lashes prescribed by law, but whip from *one* to *six hundred*, as they think proper.]

White persons meeting with free colored persons for the same purpose, to be fined \$50 and imprisoned two months.—*Ibid*, §5.

‡ Free negroes remaining in the State (Virginia) contrary to law, to be sold at the front of the court-house.—*Statute of Virginia*, 1830. Ch. 29, §1.

§ *Statutes of North Carolina*, 1830. Ch. 7.

|| *Statutes of Virginia*, 1819. Ch. 160, §6.

In other parts, free colored persons cannot marry with slaves.\*

In South Carolina, if a vessel arrive with any free colored persons on board, such persons are immediately seized and lodged in prison, and there detained until the vessel is departing, when they are permitted to go, provided they first pay the expenses of their arrest and imprisonment. If the captain go and leave them, they are then sold to defray the expenses!

In North Carolina and Georgia, vessels arriving with *free* colored persons on board, are subjected to *quarantine* from thirty to forty days, as if they had the *cholera*, and no communication is at any time allowed between a free colored person and the shore. It has been decided judicially, that vessels may have as many *slaves* in their crews as they please.† This law, adding so much to the previous injustice of slavery, originated with South Carolina. I suppose it is a new fruit, by which we are to know those “benign principles” of which her *Chancellor* boasts. I believe that neither ancient nor modern slavery affords the slightest precedent for a law of this kind. But the legislators of those States were not so transported with rage against free colored men, but that they remembered to be so prudent as to except free negroes arriving on board *vessels of war*. There might be danger in seizing the seamen of such vessels; but I am not able to perceive why a free negro, coming on board a vessel of war, would be less likely to spread the infection of freedom, than one coming on board an unarmed vessel!

Although this law in the very next year, viz., in 1823, was *decided to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States*,‡ yet, in the year following, four British colored seamen were taken from the ship *Marmion* and imprisoned in Charleston.§ The British government made a complaint at Washington, and our government (although their own tribunal, viz., Circuit Court for the District of South Carolina, a citizen of South Carolina, Judge Johnson, presiding, had already settled the law), had the dignity and decency to resort to the Attorney General for an opinion! He gave it against Carolina. No more was heard *publicly* of the seamen of the *Marmion*. I suppose they were “thrust out privily.” Forty

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\* *Statutes of North Carolina*, 1831. Ch. 4.

† *Statutes of North Carolina*, 1830. Ch. 30. *Statutes of Georgia*, 1828. Tit. *Slaves*. *Statutes of South Carolina*, Dec. 1822.

‡ Judge Johnson's opinion.—*Niles' Reg.*, Aug. 23, 1823.

§ Taking seamen from the *Marmion*.—*Niles' Reg.*, Dec. 18, 1824.

respectable masters of American vessels lying in the port of Charleston, whose men had been seized, and were then in prison, petitioned Congress for redress in 1823.\* The petition was referred to a committee, and that was the last that was ever heard of it. It appears to have been disposed of among a mass of matters, "from the further consideration" of which, without their being particularly designated in the public journals, the committees "were discharged." But good men and patriots, who have the spirit to maintain the laws, will yet *consider* it. Citizens of free States,—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania,—have been seized and sold into bondage.† They were torn from the protection of *that flag* of which we boast; that flag which we expended millions, and sacrificed thousands of lives, to vindicate from outrage similar in kind, but not half as great in degree, and not half as barefaced! Some of them have been redeemed with the hard earnings of their wives, children or parents, at home; aye, in Massachusetts,—in this very city. Some at this moment remain in bondage, nobody knows where. And this *law* continues to be enforced up to the present time! Nay, other States are following up the bold and successful example, though with a little more caution. Thus the national government can interpose for British seamen, and rescue them from the hands of tyranny, but have not a word to say, they will not even ask the opinion of the Attorney General, for citizens of the United States—for citizens scourged by men as bad as Verres. This is that sensitive regard for "sailors' rights," which moved the South to plunge the country into war!

Why is all this sudden noise about nullification? Every slave State has nullified, from ten to twenty years, the only article of the constitution which protects our free fellow-citizens among them; while, at the same time, they come and claim, to the last pound of flesh, the execution of the provision of the constitution which secures to them their property in slaves among us! There is not a slave State into which a free colored citizen of a free State can set foot, without being seized, whipped, imprisoned, and, if his ransom be not paid, sold into perpetual slavery.‡ But South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia, have nullified not only the Constitution of the United

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\* *Niles' Register*, March, 1822.

† See *Appendix*. (B.)

‡ The *citizens of each State* shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens *in the several States*.—*Constitution of United States*, Art. 4, §2.

States, but also the law of nations, and our treaties with every commercial people, both of the old world and the new. And yet we submit to it, and those same people, not satisfied with such abject pliancy, have threatened us with secession, and an alliance with Great Britain; and, by their threatening and blustering, they calculate to drive us, *as usual*, to abandon every thing they require, and do every thing they bid. Let them try an alliance with Great Britain, and let their first ambassador carry with his credentials a copy of their *slave laws*, and their laws for reducing to slavery the freemen of every nation, with a request that it be laid before Parliament, and referred to the Committee of Abolition. Belike it will promote the alliance! There is not an independent nation on earth with which they could ally themselves, that would bear from them as many wrongs and insults as we have borne—we to whom they are bound, by duties superadded to the laws of nature and nations; or that would have yielded to them the tithe of what we have yielded. This may explain the reason of Jefferson's giving to the South the generous and humane advice "to keep us to quarrel with!" We are a good people to quarrel with.

But then the Union, what will become of the Union, if we stand out, instead of submitting and pacifying our southern brethren? We all love the Union; we revere the character and farewell advice of Washington. We are superstitious in our devotion to the Union. All this the slave States know, and they have played upon us by means of it. Our tried attachment to the Union is a bank of political power, upon which southern jealousy and ambition have made what drafts they please. But believe me, fellow-citizens, the Union cannot be preserved by such means. We may, by continuing this policy, destroy all virtue and all self-respect in ourselves, but we cannot save the Union. That is to be preserved by justice, fidelity and fortitude; not by fear, not by treachery, not by the little politics of office-seekers, not by avarice and luxury. These vices have already sapped the foundation of the Union, and, if they are not arrested, they will speedily overthrow it. It is time for us to assume a manly bearing, just and considerate, towards our unreasonable countrymen, but at the same time steady and resolved in ourselves.

The Chinese have a deep and peculiar reverence for their parents. A skilful warrior, making war upon that industrious and pacific people, placed their captive mothers in front of his Tartar hordes, so that the son could not strike except through the breast which nourished him. By this new engine of war, it was hoped to subdue without danger. And

for a time the artifice was successful. But even the patient Chinese were at length aroused. To meet their invaders hand to hand, they made the awful sacrifice of objects beloved and sacred in their sight; but all too late. The tide of victory was too strong to be turned, and China was enslaved. The South have made the same use of the Union which *Ghengis Khan* made of the Chinese mothers.

In the convention which formed our Federal Constitution, a distinguished Southern member said, that "they could always make their peace with the North for a hogshead of tobacco." I am for peace, but not purchased with a hogshead of tobacco, or a bag of cotton. The truth is, that the Richmond cabal, which seems to have established a branch in Charleston, has always relied much on this principle; and to preserve that supremacy of the slave interest which they were debating about when that expression was uttered, they have not hesitated to place us repeatedly in the condition of a mouse under an exhausted receiver.

We were wrong in admitting slavery into the Constitution in the beginning. It was a fly-blow in the blossom. For the sake of a little more amount of Southern direct taxes, which have never been laid; for a little protection to commerce, which was soon changed to persecution, and to appease a spirit which cannot be appeased, we consented to sanction the atrocious principle of property in human flesh—of selling innocent fellow-citizens by the pound. What has been the consequence? A perpetual struggle on the part of the South, and thus far a successful one, to maintain the ascendancy of that principle, and of the tyrannous power based upon it, at the expense of our hard-earned prosperity. Hence we had an unlimited embargo,—such a measure as was never inflicted before since the world begun,—upon the honest industry and lawful enterprise of a great and free people. Hence, too, we had the war. After that, we had the manufacturing system, while that system went to destroy commerce; but when it had executed its mission, and revolutionized our habits and employments, then that also must be withdrawn. Let the sheep drink where it may, the wolf is determined to devour it.

Say what we will about these troubles and losses; gloss and gloze as we can, they all come of slavery, and of the original sin of the Constitution in admitting it. The paltry price which we received for that suicidal act, has dropped from our fingers. Neither our interests nor our consciences have acquiesced. We consented to cement a union with the strong, by sacrificing the rights of the weak. God is against this whole business.

It has already converted part of the nation into madmen, and another part into something more harmless, but not more respectable. To be mad is not much worse than to be

“Frighted when a madman stares.”

But how is the evil to be removed? We all acknowledge its existence and its danger, but foolishly say there is no help for it.

The first step is, to probe it to the bottom. Surgery pains, but it does not kill. A probe is better than a bayonet, which I am sure must come, if something be not speedily done. We have confirmed and encouraged this awful evil, by facing it with “dough-faces.” We have steadily and coldly suppressed all free discussion, all independent judgment, in this matter; for we can be courageous in putting down individuals at home. The customary avenues to the public mind are closed. The pulpit and the press, which enlighten, and which are relied upon on other subjects, intercept every ray which would shine on this. The church doors are shut against us, because we come to speak for unhappy men who are not permitted to speak for themselves. This very hall, in which we are met, bears witness to the violence and fury with which our efforts are resisted. A meeting-house, for this occasion, could not be had.

The press has betrayed its trust. What a noble opportunity for dignifying the press, is lost! Editors will greatly regret, at no distant period, their silence and apathy, or rather their illiberality, for they will neither enter upon this inquiry, nor suffer others to do so. The expense of establishing new presses must be incurred, or a citizen cannot address his countrymen on this most momentous question. And if new presses are established, the conductors are not only left without proper legal protection, but also without that united and fraternal vindication, which editors owe and usually accord in favor of the common cause of free inquiry.\*

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\* It is certainly a remarkable fact, that the insolent, tyrannous and corrupting act of Georgia, has been noticed and condemned by so few Northern editors; in fact, they have been so silent about it, that many doubt its existence. To set this beyond dispute, I copy the act as follows:

IN SENATE, November 30, 1831.

*Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, in General Assembly met, That the sum of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid to any person or persons who shall arrest, bring to trial, and prosecute to conviction under the laws of this State, the EDITOR or PUBLISHER of a certain paper called the LIBERATOR, published in the town of Boston, and State of MASSACHUSETTS; or who shall arrest,*

Next to examining the evil, is the proposing of a remedy. I am perfectly convinced that there is a remedy, a ready, safe and effectual remedy, within the reach of the slave holders of the United States.

Experience points us to the way. The mass of our British ancestors were once slaves. They were feudal slaves, reduced to that state by conquest. They could not, like the Southern slaves, be sold off of the estate where they were born; they could not be separated from wives, children and parents, which certainly was some comfort. Still they were subjected to many degrading services and punishments. They might be killed, like the negro slaves, for slight cause, or no cause, and their murder was atoned for by paying a *fine* to the owner. They could not, so late as the fifteenth century, go from town to town without a *pass*. In this, they were like the Southern slaves. Like them, too, they could not hold property or be witnesses; but, unlike them, the chastity of their wives and daughters was protected from violence. As literature and the reformation broke upon the darkness of the middle ages, the English lords or slave holders saw the iniquity of the system. To the honor of the feudal lords, no obstructions were ever thrown in the way of emancipation. Emancipations were

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bring to trial, and prosecute to conviction under the laws of this State, any other person or persons who shall utter, publish or circulate within the limits of this State, said paper, called the Liberator, or any other paper, circular, pamphlet, letter or address, of a seditious character.

And that His Excellency the Governor is hereby authorized and requested, to issue his warrant upon the Treasurer, for said sum of five thousand dollars, in favor of any person or persons who shall have arrested, and brought to trial, and prosecuted to conviction, under the laws of this State, the editor or publisher of the Liberator; or who shall have arrested, and brought to trial, or prosecute to conviction, under the laws of this State, any other person or persons who shall utter, publish or circulate, within the limits of this State, said paper, called the Liberator, or any other paper, circular, pamphlet, letter or address, of a seditious character.

And that these resolutions be inserted in the *appropriation act*.

*And resolved, further,* That His Excellency the Governor cause the foregoing resolutions to be published in the public journals of this State, and SUCH OTHER PAPERS as he may think proper, and pay for the publication thereof, out of the contingent fund.

Read and agreed to.

THOMAS STOCKS, *President*.

Attest, I. L. HARRIS, *Secretary*.

IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Concurred in, Dec. 24, 1831.

ASBURY HULL, *Speaker*.

Attest, W. C. DAWSON, *Clerk*.

Approved, Dec. 26, 1831.

WILSON LUMPKIN, *Governor*.

continual. They were also quiet, led to no disorders, and there was soon universal enfranchisement in England. The last was executed by Elizabeth on the crown domains. The last claim of villeinage on record was made in the following reign. And now the soil of the British Islands has that established virtue in it, that the moment a slave sets his foot upon it, his chains fall for ever.

In France, the same process was gone through; and there are now no slaves there. So in Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia,\* Austria and Germany.

In Poland, emancipation was begun by an individual nobleman, about forty years ago. His neighbors were in consternation when he broached his project. They said that he would make vagabonds, thieves and assassins, of obedient serfs. But he persevered, and they took great care to guard against the contagion of the example. But their fears subsided. The serfs were not turned out to shift for themselves. The master wanted their labor, and they wanted employment. They became free tenants at reasonable rent, of suitable farms on the estate. The change in their condition, and in the general face of things, is described as enchantment. They soon had neat and comfortable houses, instead of wretched hovels; good clothes, instead of rags; wholesome, fresh and abundant food, instead of grain and garbage distributed in masses. The estate, in comparison with those around it, was likened to an oasis in the desert. But what was most important of all, the morals and manners of the serfs were as much improved as their physical condition. They were contented and grateful. They said they had now something to live for. The same nobleman extended the system to his other estates, and he has been imitated so far, that villeinage, or feudal slavery, ceased in Poland Proper nearly thirty years ago. In Russian Poland, it still continues, but manumissions have been frequent, and were encouraged by the example of the late emperor. All

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\* Lord Dover, in the *Life of Frederick the Great*, after stating that the Prussian serfs were incapable of holding property, contracting marriages, &c., says:

“Frederick was determined, if possible, to put an end to this degrading and disgraceful state of things; but, in so doing, he found great obstacles, not only on the part of the feudal lords, but also from the peasants themselves, who were so sunk in ignorance that they dreaded any change. He commenced, however, his ameliorations in the wisest way, viz., by giving up all the rights of servitude over the peasants on the domains of the crown. His example was, by degrees, followed by various Prussian proprietors, and finally, in 1776, when he thought his people were better prepared for it, he abolished servitude throughout his dominions by a special edict.” Vol. 1, p. 483,

the military colonies and all soldiers, by a certain term of service, are emancipated ; also, by passing satisfactorily through the course of the academy of arts.

In the year 1820, the emperor Alexander emancipated the entire population, 35,000, on the island of *Oesel*. Who has ever heard of any difficulty or disorder resulting from that step ?

Lafayette was commencing the emancipation of a large number of slaves in *Cayenne*, soon after his return from the war of *freedom* in America. This was consistent. So far from its being followed by disorderly or ungrateful conduct, on the part of the slaves, the reverse was most strikingly the fact. For when the slaves in that colony became free by the French constitution, somewhat before the consummation of Lafayette's plan, *his* slaves, penetrated with love and gratitude for all that he had done and intended to do for them, made a voluntary offer to remain until he was INDEMNIFIED.

Bolivar emancipated 700 of his own slaves in the beginning of his career. Before his death, he emancipated the residue of them. Mexico abolished slavery totally and suddenly in 1829. It was done on the principle of letting the slave work out the *price* of his freedom in the employment of his master, or of *any other man*, if he *preferred* it. The law abolished at once the master's power of corporal punishment, and put those " who had been looked upon as slaves," (a very delicate and just expression, which was evidently selected for the purpose of discountenancing the idea that man *can* be the property of man), under the protection of the laws and the power of the magistrates. An American, who had been a slave owner in Mississippi, and gave an account of the effects of these measures, declared that, " if he were to return to Mississippi, and become a slave owner and planter there, he would emancipate as a means of making money." The freedmen were made happy, and the master wealthy by it. Not the smallest disorder or difficulty occurred. The witness declared that the example was one of great importance to the United States.

But it was not a new thing in Mexico. Mr. Ward, the British Minister, wrote to Mr. Canning a very interesting account of an experiment in a large district of Mexico, to substitute free for slave labor of the same men, upon the sugar plantations, which, under the new system, were producing sugar enough to supply the home consumption. Mr. Ward used nearly the same language then, as our countryman used later in regard to total abolition. He said that the example of

those sugar planters was invaluable to England and her West India colonies ; the result having been profit and perfect security on one side, and industry, order and contentment, on the other.

Guatemala abolished slavery in 1824, Columbia in 1821,\* Peru and Chili in 1828, Bolivia about the same time, Buenos Ayres in 1816, and Monte Video recently. Since those periods, no person is born or enters into those countries—a *slave*. Our Republic has now in all America only the empire of Brazil to keep her in countenance. Even that companion is expected soon to leave us, and we will then stand entirely alone. We will then take the contempt of the world. There is a public opinion in Europe, before which slave holders and their abettors quail. As human beings, they cannot help it until they become so hardened as to say, with the apostate angel,

“ Evil, be thou my good ! ”

That opinion will soon be turned in one burning focus upon our country. England and France are acting in concert for vindicating the rights and soothing the sorrows of the colored man. Both countries have abolished all legal distinctions between free white and colored men. Colored men sit on juries and in legislatures in the colonies of both. So they do in all South America. They also command armies, are educated at the *universities*, preach, practise law, medicine and the liberal and mechanic arts. But the most important sign of the times, is the evident determination of the British people to extirpate slavery at once in their colonies. Will the southern planters hold out against this accumulation of light and experience ? Will they go on in a tyrannous and bloody course, and risk the inevitable shock which will follow ? They would not think of it, if they did not rely upon *our* silence and co-operation. It is not reconcilable with the nature of man to

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\* The following is a paragraph from the *New York Journal of Commerce*, of 1829 :

“ *Colombia.* The anxiety and efforts of the Colombian Government to re-instate an injured class in those rights which our Constitution calls inalienable, put to the blush the tardy and heartless of the Government of the United States on this subject. *As soon* as the Republic had established *her* freedom, she took measures to emancipate the slaves. Revenues were appropriated. They *began* with the most worthy to be free. All the children born after a certain day were declared *free*. At this time the number is greatly reduced. In Malurin, Venezuela, Oronoco and Tulia, containing nearly half of the population of Colombia, only 29,371 remain in bondage.”

It is truly gratifying to observe the noble stand which one journal has recently taken. Its wealthy and benevolent proprietor, Mr. Tappan, is a host on the anti-slavery side.

dare so much for so little, as without that reliance they would dare.

Let us, then, speak to them like independent men, like real friends, and warn them to flee from the wrath to come. We hear a great deal about saving the souls of poor Africans. For my part, I am much more anxious about the souls of their masters.

“ I tell thee, churlish priest,  
My sister shall a ministering angel be,  
While thou liest howling.”

If we express frankly and firmly our opinions to the South, they will give up their slaves. They will turn them into free laborers or tenants. The thing may be done with the stroke of a pen. Let them begin to do it. Let them make a sincere experiment, like Radzivil in Poland, and like Lafayette in Cayenne. To make an *immediate beginning* is all that I mean, or that our Society means, by “immediate abolition.” *Immediate* inquiry, to be followed by action, as soon as inquiry has pointed out the way—these, and these only, are “immediate abolition” in any rational sense.

We are misrepresented and denounced, by men high in the world ; by men with titles before their names and behind their names, like heralds and troops to swell their state, and look down our humble association. But I do not fear them. If our cause be of God, he will put his everlasting arm beneath and bear it up. If it be not of God, and for the good of man, then let it fall.

We are accused of wishing to produce a “St. Domingo massacre.” This is repeated on all occasions. Our opponents are wise to attack what they please to impute to us, rather than any thing we have done. Better proof of the innocence of our principles and actions need not be desired.

But how was this affair of St. Domingo, which is made such a bugbear, to frighten the country from its propriety ? So far from being a case which makes against abolition, it will be found directly the other way.

The French abolished slavery at one blow throughout the republic in the year 1793. It was an article of their constitution. Of course, the people of St. Domingo were free. They were peaceable, kind, orderly and industrious. They carried on plantations, whose owners and overseers were absent, perfectly well ; and, for nearly *eight* years, peace, contentment and felicity, reigned throughout the French portion of the island. In 1802, the expedition was sent out by Bonaparte to re-enslave them. That expedition was bloody and perfidious.

The war against those colored men differed as much from allowed and civilized war, as the ordinary treatment of a free negro in the United States differs from that of a respectable white. They kept no faith with them. They trapped their leader by treachery, and murdered him. At length the Haytien rose in his wrath, and truly the genius of fire could not revel in its flames more familiarly than he. Their fury swept over the island like a conflagration, and their weak-hearted enemies, the traitors to solemn leagues, were consumed from the surface of the glorious island. It is true, that the young and tender were not spared. But let white men endure four centuries of oppression, let them be blessed with the boon of liberty, let them hug it to their hearts and feel its warm and expansive influence; then let it be rudely snatched away, and daggers substituted in its place. Is it very certain that we, with all our boasted refinement and charity, should be meek and patient with the butchers?

Thanks be to God! Hayti triumphed; single-handed and against the world, she triumphed. Against the hotness of fight and the coldness of derision, she has triumphed. After some vibration, her government has settled into regular and beneficent action. It now has the whole island. *There is not a slave.* It is said by witnesses, whom I credit, to be prosperous and happy.\* The imports from the island into the United States amount annually to about two millions of dollars. Although we have no commercial treaty with her, as we might have had long ago, on the most advantageous terms; although we have set our faces sternly against her independent and equal rank among the nations of the earth, yet, notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding successive wars with two first rate powers, Hayti still lives and flourishes. She has now a better ordered society, in spite of the base efforts of Europe and America to madden and destroy her, than Greece has, with the civilized world to aid her.

Precious beyond expression to the colored man, is the example of Hayti and the character of her noble deliverer, Toussaint L'Ouverture. The white man's blood ran not in his veins, but the milk of kindness was around his heart. So it was around the heart of Hayti, until cold perfidy congealed it.

May she act worthy of her great destiny. In my view, she is now the depositary of the greatest trust of God to man. Philosophy and philanthropy strain their eyes towards her. Ethiopia stretches out her hands unto God for her.

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\* See a full account of the present state of Hayti, in the *London Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

## APPENDIX.

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### AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT ROBERTS, OF BOSTON.

An account of the kidnapping of James Hall, son of Jude Hall, Exeter, New Hampshire :

JAMES HALL was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, and, at the age of eighteen years, was kidnapped by a man named David Wedgewood, of Exeter, but now resides at Greenland. By him (D. W.) he was taken, tied and carried to Newburyport jail, and the next morning was put on board of a vessel bound for New Orleans, and sold as a slave. The Captain of the vessel's name was Isaac Stone. The vessel belonged to Johnson & ———, of Newburyport. He was taken from his father's house at Exeter, in the absence of his father, by D. W., who said that he owed him four dollars. His mother said that he was a minor, and forbid him from taking him. Regardless to what she said, he bound and carried him to Newburyport. He was seen, not long since, at New Orleans, by George Ashton, a colored man, from Exeter; he said he was chained up in the calaboose or jail, at New Orleans, as a runaway; and, in the mean time, his master (a Frenchman, from Kentucky) came, and commanded him to be punished severely, and carried him back.

His father was born at Exeter (N. H.), and was a soldier during the old revolutionary war, under Gen. Poor. His mother was grand daughter of Esquire Rollins, of Stratham. She is now living, and will testify to all that is written here concerning her son, and more, if wished.

AARON, another son of Jude Hall, in 1807, was kidnapped by some villain at Providence, Rhode Island, and has not been heard of since. At first, he went from this city to Providence, in order to get ready for sea: he went into a clothing store, and gave a due bill for a suit of sea clothes, which was twenty dollars; and, being unable to read or write, he made his cross for \$200 instead of 20. And when he returned from sea, he started from Providence to carry the money to his father, and was overtaken in Roxbury (Mass.), on his way home, and carried back, sent to sea, and has not been heard of since.

WILLIAM, a third son, went to sea in the barque Hammibal, of Newburyport. After arriving at the West Indies, was sold there as a slave; and, after remaining in slavery ten years, by some means run away, and is now in England, a captain of a collier from Newcastle to London. About three years ago, his mother heard of him, the first time for upwards of twenty years. His father was a pensioner of the United States, having served faithfully eight years, and fought in most all the battles, beginning with the Bunker Hill. He was called a great soldier, and was known in New Hampshire, to the day of his death, by the name of "Old Rock." He was alive when James was first heard of in slavery; but he did not live to hear from William. Nobody has ever heard from Aaron.

The above-named Jude Hall was my father-in-law, and my wife was his eldest child. I have often heard these facts from my mother-in-law, and others of the family; and I have made exertions to get information and give assistance to my brothers in their captivity, and so did my father; but was kept running from one lawyer and judge to another, until he died without being able to help either of his sons.

ROBT. ROBERTS.

*Suffolk, ss: Boston, Nov. 22d, 1833.*

Then the above-named Robert Roberts personally appeared and subscribed the foregoing statement, and made solemn oath that the same is true, according to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Before me,

DAVID L. CHILD, *Justice of the Peace,*

## AFFIDAVIT OF JOSEPH THOMPSON.

I, JOSEPH THOMPSON, of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, aged thirty-four years, testify and say, that in the year eighteen hundred and twenty-nine I sailed from New York in the ship Milton, Captain William B. Webb, for Bourdeaux, and thence to New Orleans. The mate's name was Charles Price Bulkley. At New Orleans, Captain Webb purchased a new vessel, called the Bingham, and put the mate in command of her. I was transferred with the mate, on account of our having sailed together two years and upwards. Bulkley was directed in writing to pay the hands who went with him. There was due to me at that time, as steward, at the rate of \$13 per month, the sum of \$286 or 7. I asked Bulkley for the sum of \$18, for my use at New Orleans. He was angry, and ordered me ashore. I went, taking my clothes. He charged me with stealing, and put me in a calaboose. He then sold me to a man by the name of Turner, from the country. I refused to go. Fortunately, I was able to speak some French, and I had some old acquaintances at New Orleans, one a landlord named John Pouch, and the other named Caleb Bartlett, a merchant of New Orleans, son of the late Dr. Bartlett, of Charlestown, Massachusetts. This gentleman had sailed, when a boy, before the mast in a vessel of which I was steward, viz., the ship Persia, Captain Stephen Williams. By the kindness of those gentlemen, I was released; whereupon Bulkley accused me of being a dangerous fellow, and having a design to raise the slaves and murder the whites, and said that I was fitted for such an undertaking. The jailor was about to shackle me, when Messrs. Pouch and Bartlett came, in consequence of a message which I sent by the guard, and relieved me. If I had not had friends in New Orleans, or if I had had them, but could not have sent a message in French by the guard, I should not have been able to recover my liberty, and should, in all probability, have been in slavery at this time.

While I was in prison, I saw William Johnson, whom I had known as a free man at Baltimore. He was taken up in the street the same day that I was. He was chained, and put to work on the levee. He had a shackle round his right ankle, and a chain running from that to his waist, and attached to a belt round his body. I saw him whipped dreadfully with a cowhide, because he did not walk faster. I left him in that situation, and suppose that he is still a slave, as, in the usual course, he would be sold into the country in twenty days. In the calaboose there were *nine* other colored men, who were freemen. Three of them I had known as stewards on board different vessels. Two of them belonged to Boston, one belonged to Portland, (and his name was John Powar), and three belonged to New York, one of whom had a wife and four children there. All these, after twenty days, were to be sold for slaves. I suppose they must be in slavery now. They urged me to go and intercede for them. I did go to the landlord, Pouch, and asked him to help them, and he did all that he could, but it was in vain. One of the persons whom I left in the calaboose, was steward of a vessel lying alongside the levee. I went on board, and inquired for the Captain, as respectfully as I could. The mate said, "Captain is not here. What do you want?" I answered, "The steward wants him, for God's sake, to send him his protection, or to come up and see him in prison." The mate then said, more rough than before, "Clear out, you d—d niggur." I then went away, and had to run to get out of the way. The calaboose is filthy enough to poison a hog.

There is a continual stream of free colored men from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other seaports of the United States, passing through this calaboose into slavery in the country.

While I was at New Orleans at this time, a poor woman, a slave, for slapping her master's child a little, was whipped twenty-five lashes a day, three days running. On the third day, she jumped from the levee and drowned herself. I saw her body after some colored women had drawn it out and covered it with a shawl. She was awfully cut on the back, and the wounds were gaping.

his  
JOSEPH X THOMPSON,  
mark.

*Suffolk, ss: Boston, Nov. 20, 1833.*

Subscribed and sworn, before me,

DAVID L. CHILD, *Justice of the Peace,*

## AFFIDAVIT OF JAMES G. BARBADOES.

About twenty-two years ago, Matthew Earl, the son of Hamlet Earl, about fourteen years old, was kidnapped on board of a vessel, and locked up in the cabin; but his cries alarmed the bystanders, and gentlemen of humanity informed his parents, and, with exertion, with the assistance of Mr. Brimmer, a very gentleman, the boy was released.

Mrs. Phillis Lewis's son was kidnapped by a man on board of a vessel, and carried to Nantucket. Information being immediately sent to the Friends, on the vessel's arrival there, she was searched by them, and the boy found secreted on board of her, and sent back to his mother.

Peter Smith was kidnapped, in New Orleans, and imprisoned, with the intent to be sold for a slave; but by information being given to his friends, and to Mr. Ludlow, a navy officer, he promptly interceded, and he was released, and sent home to his wife.

Daniel Williams was kidnapped in Norfolk, and imprisoned, and to be sold for a slave. Letters being sent to his parents stating the facts, his parents presented them to the Governor, and he demanded him immediately, and obtained him.

About eighteen years ago, Robert H. Barbadoes was kidnapped in New Orleans, imprisoned, handcuffed and chained, for about five months or longer, and deprived every way of communicating his situation to his parents. His protection was taken from him, and torn up. He was often severely flogged, to be made submissive, and deny that he was free born. He was unluckily caught with a letter wrote with a stick, and with the blood drawn from his own veins, for the purpose of communicating to his father his situation; but this project failed, for the letter was torn away from him and destroyed, and he very severely flogged. He then lost most every hope; but at length the above Peter Smith was kidnapped again in this garden of paradise of freedom, and being lodged in the same cell with him, he communicated to Smith the particulars of his sufferings. At the examination of Smith, he was found to have free papers, signed by the Governor; in consequence of which, he was set at liberty. He then wrote to Barbadoes' parents, and likewise arrived in Boston as soon as the letter. Free papers were immediately obtained, and signed by his father and Mrs. Mary Turel, Mr. ——— Giles, and Mr. Thomas Clark, town clerk; and by the Governor of this State, demanding him without delay. He was returned to his native town, Boston, where all these other persons belonged. The above wrote by

JAMES G. BARBADOES.

Testified by him and others of the connexions.

*Suffolk, ss : Boston, Nov. 20, 1833.*

Subscribed and sworn, before me,

DAVID L. CHILD, *Justice of the Peace.*

*Extract from Mrs. Child's Appeal.*

"In Philadelphia, though remote from a slave market, it has been ascertained that *more than thirty* free persons of color, were stolen and carried off within *two* years. Stroud says: 'Five of these have been restored to their friends, by the interposition of humane gentlemen, though not without great expense and difficulty. The others are still in bondage; and, if rescued at all, it must be by sending *white* witnesses a journey of more than a thousand miles.'" P. 64.

*Extract from Torrey's Portraiture of Domestic Slavery in the United States.*

"To enumerate all the horrid and aggravating instances of men-stealing, which are known to have occurred in the State of Delaware, within the recollection of many of the citizens of that State, would require a volume. In many


cases, whole families of free colored people have been attacked in the night, beaten *nearly* to death with clubs, gagged and bound, and dragged into distant and hopeless captivity and slavery, leaving no traces behind, except the blood from their wounds.

"During the last winter, since the seizure of the woman and infant, as related above, the house of a free black family was broken open, and its defenceless inhabitants treated in the manner just mentioned, except that the mother escaped from their merciless grasp, while on their way to the State of Maryland. The plunderers, of whom there were nearly half a dozen, conveyed their prey upon horses; and the woman being placed on one of the horses, behind, improved an opportunity, as they were passing a house, and sprang off; and not daring to pursue her, they proceeded on, leaving her youngest child a little farther along by the side of the road, in expectation, it is supposed, that its cries would attract the mother; but she prudently waited until morning, and recovered it again in safety.

"I consider myself more fully warranted in particularising this fact, from the circumstances of having been at Newcastle at the time that the woman was brought with her child, before the grand jury, for examination; and of having seen several of the persons against whom bills of indictment were found, on the charge of being engaged in the perpetration of the outrage; and also, that one or two of them were the same who were accused of assisting in seizing and carrying off another woman and child, whom I discovered at Washington. The ingenuity and stratagems employed by kidnappers, in effecting their designs, are such as to prove, that the most consummate cunning is no evidence of wisdom or moral purity, nor incompatible with the most consummate villany. A monster, in human shape, was detected, in the city of Philadelphia, pursuing the occupation of courting and marrying mulatto women, and selling them as slaves. In his last attempt of this kind, the fact having come to the knowledge of the African population of this city, a mob was immediately collected, and he was only saved from being torn in atoms, by being deposited in the city prison. They have lately invented a method of attaining their objects, through the instrumentality of the laws: Having selected a suitable free colored person, to make a *pitch* upon, the *conjuring* kidnapper employs a confederate, to ascertain the distinguishing marks of his body, and then claims and obtains him as a slave, before a magistrate, by describing those marks, and proving the truth of his assertions by his well-instructed accomplice.

"From the best information that I have had opportunities to collect, in travelling by various routes through the States of Delaware and Maryland, and from statements of an ingenuous trader exclusively (as I believe) in *lawful* slaves, I am fully convinced that there are, at this time, within the jurisdiction of the United States, several thousands of legally free people of color, toiling under the yoke of involuntary servitude, and transmitting the same fate to their posterity! If the probability of this fact could be authenticated to the recognition of the Congress of the United States, it is presumed that its members, as agents of the Constitution, and guardians of the public liberty, would, without hesitation, devise means for the restoration of those unhappy victims of violence and avarice, to their freedom and constitutional personal rights. This is a work, both from its nature and magnitude, impracticable to individuals or benevolent societies to accomplish; besides, it is perfectly a national business, and claims national interference, equally with the captivity of our sailors in Algiers." Pp. 57—58.





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